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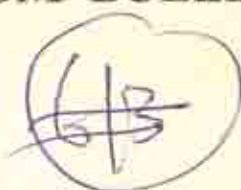
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MOTI CHANDRA

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2. STUDIES IN THE CULT OF THE MOTHER GODDESS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Moti Chandra

I

The mother-principle is the earliest belief which received recognition by the human mind in its very primitive stage. The palaeolithic man recognized in the motherhood the inherent power to procreate which was the root cause for the racial development and regeneration. This principle of motherhood was not confined only to human beings but was extended to cattle, plants and all kinds of life. This act of fertility soon became associated with the waters, the source of all life. The mother-principle was not only confined to the terrestrial sphere, but also came to be recognized as a cosmic force. This principle, at first an abstraction creating an image in the sub-conscious, in the course of the development of civilization projected itself as a visual image emphasizing fertility. At a much later stage this original Mother goddess assumed multiple forms, through maintaining their basic function of fertility. However, the very concept of fertility gave rise to idea of death, fear and dissolution, and therefore, some of the Mother goddesses assumed their awesome and destructive roles.

With the firm establishment and wide acceptance of the mother-principle there arose the language of symbols which utilized not only the sexual parts of the body, but also some forces of nature and animate and inanimate objects which were connected with the phenomenon of fertility. Thus the waters, the earth, the vegetation, the crops and the cattle became closely related with fertility cult and formed appropriate symbols to express the functions inherent in the great Mother goddess.

The study of the Mother goddess cult in India is fraught with many difficulties, not the least being the lack of archaeological material in the Stone Age cultures. Unlike the archaeological finds in the palaeolithic Europe which throw considerable light on the Mother goddess cult, the Indian palaeolithic sites have so far yielded no material which could enlighten us about the Mother goddess cult and practices in India. In the Chalcolithic Age of Indian history, however, the worship of the Mother goddess was widely practised as proved by the terracotta finds from Baluchistan where small agricultural communities existed even before the existence of the Harappan culture. Nothing could be said about the identification of the Mother goddess as the Harappan script has not yet been deciphered, though there is ample evidence available from the seals and terracottas that the goddess was associated with trees and animals and the fertility aspect of her role is em-

phasized by her nudity. All this shows the concept of the Mother goddess in this period was almost the same as the concept of the Mother goddess in Vedic and historical times. However, one thing must be borne in mind that the cult of the Mother goddess was not common to all the sites where the Harappan culture flourished. For instance at Lothal in Gujarat and Kalibangan in Rajasthan, the absence of the terracotta figurines of the Mother goddess shows that her cult did not receive recognition in those parts of the country. Why it so happened it is difficult to surmise, but there is always a possibility that the Harappan culture had a very liberal approach so far as religion was concerned, and in the course of its expansion through cultural and commercial relations, it left the religious beliefs of the people with whom it came in contact severely alone.

What happened to the Mother goddess cult after the decline and disappearance of the Harappan culture is not known, though from painted potsherds at Navadatoli near Maheshwar in Madhya Pradesh there seems to have existed a goddess in her terrific form who was perhaps associated with death. The recent find of a headless goddess associated with a bull kept in a terracotta casket from Inamgaon near Poona, datable to c. 1300 B.C. shows that the cult of this goddess prevalent at Catal Hüyük in Anatolia datable between c. 6500 and 5700 B.C. had penetrated the Deccan plateau and survived there at a much later period.

The predominance of any particular goddess in early Vedic literature is disputed by many scholars. They are of the opinion that the goddesses found their rightful place in Vedic pantheon when the Vedic Aryans came in closer contact with the indigenous culture of the land. The others argue that while the gods hold sway in early Vedic texts, the presence of at least some of the important goddesses such as the Great mother Aditi, Prithivi Sinivali, Sarasvati, etc. could not be ignored. The solution of the problem posed by these conflicting opinions lies somewhere midway. In early Vedic literature the important role played by some of the goddesses must be recognized, but in most cases the goddesses are mere abstractions, changing their roles and distinguishing attributes between one another. In the *R V.* and also in the *A V.* the abstract images of the goddesses are in a nebulous and floating state, and it is open to question whether any of these goddesses, apart from their liturgical value and symbolical significance, projected her image in visual art.

In the later Vedic literature, however, the position of the Mother goddesses definitely improves. They partially shed off their hazy character and take definite shapes. For instance Śrī indicating merely abstract virtues in the *Vedas*, in the *ŚB.* assumes the role of a full-fledged goddess. It is also significant to note that in certain later Vedic texts and particularly the *MB.* it is pointed out that Śrī in the beginning lived with the Asuras and later on when they deflected from the path of virtue that she deserted them. This legend could only mean that Śrī was at first the Mother goddess popular with the non-

Aryans and at a much later date probably in c. 800 B.C. when the *ŚB.* was composed she was received within the Aryan fold. When she was actually represented in art is not known, but in the Mauryan period her cult seems to have been widely patronized. She became associated with various symbols drawn from vegetation, animals both domestic and wild and the waters which directly or indirectly emphasize the role as a goddess of fertility, rain and riches. It may, however, be pointed here that the symbols associated with Śrī are not exclusively devoted to her; other gods and goddesses more or less with similar functions equally share these with her. Her identification sometimes in early Indian art is also fraught with difficulties. When she is associated with the lotus and elephant it is easy to recognize her. But when nude female figures are associated with the palm and *pīpal* trees and animals the identification becomes doubtful. Moreover, she shares her attributes with some Yakshis, river goddesses and Prithivī and in their exchange of attributes and symbols make the identification very confounded.

Oldenberg and more recently Gonda have thoroughly discussed the idea expressed by the word Śrī and its derivatives in early Vedic literature and Coomaraswamy has studied at length the iconography of Śrī-Lakshmi and certain symbols associated with her. However, since the days of Coomaraswamy the archaeological material about Śrī-Lakshmi or the Mother goddess, whatever we may choose to call her, has grown considerably and therefore, we have made in the following pages a reappraisal of the problem, supplementing the archaeological material with literary evidences, mostly collected from the later Vedic literature, the epics, the *Purāṇas* and technical texts on iconography. It is not possible to pronounce the final verdict, but it is hoped that the study may enthuse some scholars to study the problems connected with the Mother goddess in greater detail.

II

The personality of Śrī in ancient India is a complex one. She not only represents the ancient Mother goddess of proto-historic times, but also identifies herself as a Yakshī, Prithivī, Umā-Durgā and various other goddesses of corn and fertility. She is not only exclusively devoted to Vishnu as in Paurāṇic literature but Indra, Kubera and the Asuras found favour with her. Śrī in early Buddhist sculpture is identified by M. Foucher with Māyā, the mother of Gautama Buddha, and perhaps he is right as Māyā, at least in the early centuries of the Christian era, had assumed the role of the universal Mother as in the *Saundarānanda* ii, 47 the Buddha's mother is called *Māyeva divī devatā*. Prof. Johnston¹ locates this goddess Māyā referred by Aśvaghosha from an unexpected source the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* No. 1280 dated to the third century A.D. which contains an invocation to Isis, in the course of which she is equated with all the Mother goddesses known to the Greek world,

¹ E. H. Johnston, "A Terracotta Figure at Oxford", *J.L.S.O.A.*, Vol. X, 1942, pp. 101-102.

Cybele, Atargatis, Astarte, Nanaia and many others among whom is included *Maia* in India. Johnston identifies *Maia* with *Māyā* of the *Saundarānanda*, though the word may as well stand for *Mātā*, the mother. Later on the Papyrus defective at this point, informs us what part of India she was worshipped. The translation of lines 221-231 runs: "Thou lady of the land, bringest the flood of rivers, . . . and in Egypt the Nile, in Tripolis the Eleutherus, in India the Ganges; owing to whom the whole and the . . . exists through all rain every spring, all dew and snow, and all things for ever." It is evident from this reference that in the Gangetic valley *Māyā* who could perhaps be equated with *Śrī-Lakshmi* was closely associated with the waters and hence vegetation and fertility. As we will see later on that the *makara*, one of the symbols of *Śrī-Lakshmi*, is also the vehicle of the river goddess *Gaṅgā*. As a matter of fact in the *MB.I.* 92.26 the *Gaṅgā*'s resplendent body is compared with that of *Śrī* (*Jājñvalyamānāmvaṇushā sākshātpadmāmivaiśriyam*).

That *Śrī* as Mother goddess belonged to pre-Aryan India and later on assimilated by the Aryans is supported by literary evidences. It is mentioned in the *JB.* I. 1. 4. 4, that because of a false step in performing a sacrifice the Aryans lost their *Śrī*. It is mentioned in the *MB.* XIII. 81.6 that abandoned by her the *Daityas* were destroyed. This statement is further corroborated by a dialogue between *Śrī* and the *Daitya* king *Prahrāda* (*MB.* XII. 124.54-60). It is mentioned that *Indra* having assumed the form of a *Brāhmaṇa* approached the *Asura* *Prahrāda* and asked him that if he was gratified with him to part with *Śrī* who resided within him. As soon as *Prahrāda* agreed to the *Brāhmaṇa*'s request the resplendent goddess *Śrī* came out from his body. On being questioned by the demon chief where she was going she said "I am *Śrī* cast off by you, I am leaving you." He also wanted to know from her the identity of the *Brāhmaṇa*. *Prahrāda* also addressed her as the goddess of the people (*lokasya paramēśvari*). She revealed the identity of the *Brāhmaṇa* as *Indra* and that he had managed to rob *Prahrāda* of all worldly prosperity. She further informed him that *Prahrāda* by his right conduct had conquered all the world, and knowing that *Indra* had robbed him of his right conduct, religion, wealth and power as *Śrī* herself was at the root of the right conduct. She appeared with a lotus in each hand on *Asura* *Kubera*'s car in the form of *Gajalakshmi* (*Rām.* V. 7.14).

Śrī's contact with the *Asuras* is further emphasized by her association with *Kubera* the lord of the *Asuras*†. In *Kubera*'s *sabhā* *Śrī* was always present. It is also said that *Lakshmi* proceeded to the gods and *Alakshmi* to the *Asuras* (*MB.* III. 92.9). *Alakshmi* and *Kālī* destroyed the *Asuras* (*MB.* III. 92.10-12), a sort of sectarian approach applauding the *Devas* and denigrating the *Asuras*. While the *Asuras* were being destroyed, the *Devas* goaded by *Śrī-Lakshmi* visited the oceans, rivers, lakes and holy places. They performed penance and *yajñas* and after doing acts of piety visited the *itrthas*. *Yudhishthira* was ad-

† E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Reprint), Delhi, 1968, p. 146.

vised that after taking a holy dip in the *tirtha* Lakshmi was bound to visit him (*MB.* III. 92.13-16). The virtue accruing from bathing in *Śrī-tirtha* is emphasized (*MB.* III. 81.37). Thus the later Paurāṇic character of *Śrī-Lakshmi* with emphasis on the places of pilgrimage and acts of piety, which, except for her association with the waters had nothing to do with her original character.

Lakshmi is also one of the wives of Dharma (*MB.* I. 63.13) and sister of Dhātā and Vidhātā and her mind-born sons are flying horses (*turagā vyoma-chārīṇaḥ MB.* I. 60.50) which is an early reference to her association with horses as exemplified in early carved discs of the Maurya-Śuṅga period. *Śrī* is also associated with the *Suparnas*. They are endowed with *Śrī* and also marked with *Śrī-Vatsa* (*MB.* V. 99.5). Perhaps here there is a correct reference to the flying character of *Śrī* as evidenced by certain terracottas and a carved disc to be discussed later on. She is also associated with Varuṇa (*Rām.* VII. 56.2). She is also Daksha's daughter (*Mār. P. L.* 20-21) from her was born Darpa (*Mār. P. L.* 25).

After leaving the Asuras *Śrī* apparently became very intimate with Indra. It is mentioned in the *MB.* II. 7.4, that in Indra's *sabhā* both *Śrī* and Lakshmi were present. A dialogue between Indra and *Śrī* brings out vividly their relationship into prominence. Questioned by Yudhishtira about the state of a man in rising or declining fortune Bhishma referred to the dialogue between Indra and *Śrī* which took place on the bank of the Gaṅgā. After taking a dip in the river where Indra and Nārada were offering water to the sun, there appeared *Śrī* in all her effulgence. Preceded by the Apsarases she wore a *nakshatramālā* (a kind of necklace) and a garland, holding a lotus she stood on a lotus pericarp (*padmatalasamsthītām*). After worshipping her Indra enquired from her about the mission which had brought her there, and her final destination. She gave him certain information about herself and her mission. For the prosperity of the mankind she was addressed as Padmāsri, Padmamālīni, Lakshmi, Bhūti, *Śrī*, Sraddhā, Medhā, Sannati, Vijiti, Sthiti, Dhṛiti, Siddhi, Svāhā, Svadhā, Samstuti, Niyati and Kīrti. She dwelt in the standards of the victorious kings and the residences of right-minded men. She formerly lived with the Asuras who were then virtuous but she left them when they departed from the path of virtue and had decided to live with Indra (*MB.* XII. 221.1-94). The excerpt proves that *Śrī's* association with the Asuras had finally snapped and by her acceptance of relationship with Vedic god Indra she was fully admitted within the field of Hindu pantheon.

The *Padma Purāṇa*, I. 9. 117-132, gives some further information about *Śrī-Lakshmi* which shows her all-pervading nature. She is said to be born of lotus, lotus-eyed, living in the lotuses (*padmālayā*), lotus-headed, lotus-faced and she is the mother of all living beings (*lokāṇām jananiṃ*). She is Siddhi, Svadhā, Svāhā, Sudhā, Sandhyā, Rātri, Prabhā, Bhūti, Sraddhā, Sarasvatī, Yajñavidyā, Mahāvidyā, Guhyavidyā, Ātmavidyā and the patron

goddess of all success. She is also called *amṛita*. She bestows on her devotees wives, sons, houses, friends, corn, wealth, good health, property, cattle, etc.

Śrī-Lakshmi's identification with Mahāvidyā and Guhyavidyā shows her association with magical and esoteric rites and fully supports the view of the *Milindapañna* (p. 101) that her cult was esoteric and therefore the *Brahmajāla Sūtra* (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, I. 17.1) prescribes her worship.

Umā-Ambā-Durgā is also equated with Śrī-Lakshmi and credited with almost all her functions. It is mentioned in the *Nārada Purāṇa*, II. 3-6, that the Māyā of Mahāviṣṇu is named as creator of the world. That Māyā has various synonyms as Durgā, Bhadrakālī, Chāṇḍī, Māheśvarī, Lakshmi, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, etc. (*Līṅga Purāṇa*, II. 3-13). The *Devī-Māhātmya* (*Mār. P.* XVIII. 39, 40, 47), asserts that the Devī has three manifestations, namely Lakshmi, Mahākālī and Sarasvatī.

The emphasis on the concept of Śrī and Durgā is on their generative and preservative aspects which became clearly formulated in a corn-goddess. Later on the concept expanded to the whole vegetation world. In the *Mār. P.* XCI. 43-44 the Devī says: "I shall support the whole world with the life-sustaining vegetables, which shall grow out of my own body, during a period of heavy rain. I shall gain fame on the earth then as Śākambhari (herb-bearing) ...". This reminds us how in the *JB*. I. 1.4.4 Śrī is equated with corn (*anna*).

As Śrī is conceived in the form of the earth so is Durgā.

"Thou alone hast become the support of the world, because thou dost subsist in the form of the earth! By thee, who existest in the form of water..." (*Mār. P.* XCI. 3).

That the iconographic concept of Ambā and Śrī were interchangeable is exemplified by some ancient coins. Dr. Mukherjee has carefully examined the figure of the goddess on Huvishka coins identified as Nanā—Ishtar—Anāhita. The cult of Artemis also seem to have played some part in the evolution of the figure. The goddess on the famous Pushkalāvati coin holding a lotus in her right hand, who had something to do with Tyche or the Goddess of Fortune and identified as Śrī by Coomaraswamy is identified by Mukherjee on the basis of the Kharoshthī inscription on the coin as Ambā the consort of Śiva, as his theriomorphic representation as a bull appears on the reverse. On the Kushāṇa coins the goddess holding a lotus standing by the side of Oesho is described as Ommo or Umā. In some cases Umā is replaced by Nanā. As rightly remarked by Mukherjee³ "It appears that the concept of divine maturity common to Ambā, Umā and Nanā, led to the identification of each with the

³ B. N. Mukherjee, *Nana an Lion*, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 13-14.

others. The process of the syncretism might have begun even before the time of Huvishka". He has described other coins with the figure of other goddesses with a lotus whom he identifies with Ambā. It seems that by the second century B.C. Ambā had also assumed the role of a goddess bestowing fortune.

That the syncretism of Umā-Śrī with some foreign goddesses is not merely a hypothetical conjecture based on the evidence of certain Kushāna coins but also on certain literary references. In the *Aṅgavijjā Prakṛpaka*⁴, a Prakrit text on prognostication, which seems to have been compiled in the early centuries of the Christian era the list of the goddesses besides the names of Śrī, Lachchhī, Devī, Bhagavatī and Sitā appear foreign goddesses Achel (Var. pa.) lā, Anādītā, Airānī, Ttimissakesī, Tidhiṇī and Sālimāliṇī.

Among the foreign goddesses mentioned above Apalā may be identified with the Greek goddess Pallas Athene; Anādītā is the Avestan goddess Anāhita whose cult was later on mixed with the cult of Nanā or Nanaia. Airānī may be the Roman goddess Irene, Ttimissakesī may be the nymph Themis from whom her son Evander learned his letters, or more probably the Greek goddess Artemis. Tidhiṇī cannot be identified. Sālimāliṇī may be identified with the Moon goddess Selene. From what source this information about the goddesses of Greek and Iran came in the *Aṅgavijjā* is not known, but it must be in fairly early times when the Śaka and Greek influence from North-Western India and Mathura had not been lost.

Anāhita, the ancient goddess of the Asianic people of Iran was worshipped under several names. "Under the name of Nanaia her cult continued down to the Parthian period, and we found many terracotta figurines representing her in the Parthian cemetery at the important site [Susa]. The question arises whether this ancient mother-goddess, symbol of fertility and procreation, had not already by syncretism become the goddess Anahita, and whether it is not she who is to be recognized in certain of these representations. Support is lent to this hypothesis by the borders of some of the votive disks which are decorated with fish and pomegranates, two symbols of this divinity of water and fertility . . ."⁵

That this fish was one of the symbols of Anāhita as all proved by its occurrence on an ossuary from Bishapur on which is carved the figure of Anāhita, identified by the vase she holds and the fish by her side.⁶

As we shall see later on the terracotta figurines of a goddess holding a pair of fish are frequently found from Mathura and Kauśāmbī identified as Vasudhārā seem to be the Indianised version of Anāhita who was perhaps introduced in India in the first century B.C., if not earlier.

⁴ *Aṅgavijjā Prakṛpaka*, ed. by Muni Punya Vijaya, Banaras, 1957, p. 69, Introduction, p. 42.

⁵ R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, Harmondsworth, 1954, p. 103.

⁶ R. Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sassanians*, London, 1962, p. 166, fig. 210.

The lotus flowers and birds especially doves were favourite of Anāhita or Anaitis. As noted by Dalton, "It is probable that in Persia, as in contemporary Greece, the flower had more general symbolical meaning not connected with the worship of any particular deity"

"In the later centuries of its existence the symbol seems to have had chiefly a ceremonial significance. On certain Indo-Scythian coins of Kanerki and other kings it is held in the hand by a female figure which appears to be Nana-Anat or Nanaia by some regarded as a later form of Anaitis; and its use upon the silver dish (no. 208), though perhaps merely convivial, may yet mark a ceremonial festivity with which religious ideas were associated."⁷

As we will see later on the lotus played a very significant part in Indian art and literature. It was a flower not only as a means of decoration and a symbol of beauty but was closely associated with Śrī-Lakshmi symbolizing her intimate contact with the waters. It seems that in the early centuries of the Christian era at least there was a syncretism of Anāhita and Śrī-Lakshmi, both closely associated with the waters, fertility and procreation. Coomaraswamy has rightly observed 'Thus Ahur Mazda corresponds to Varuna; Anāhita and Ashi, his daughters, present a close analogy to Śrī-Lakshmi' (*Yakṣas*, II, p. 17).

Anāhita in common with Śrī-Lakshmi in the Yashts. "As the goddess of the waters let down from heaven to fructify the earth and bring increase to flocks and herds and mankind, easy labour to women and abundant milk, she was endowed with the form of Ishtar, As such she was worshipped as 'the Great Goddess whose name is Lady', the 'all-powerful immaculate one', purifying 'the seed of males and the womb and the milk of females.' Like most fertility goddesses, she was also regarded as engaged in warfare, riding in a chariot drawn by four white horses in which are wind, rain, cloud and hail."⁸

Another Iranian goddess with whom the symbolism of fish and horse is connected is Ashi. In the Yasht the symbol of the goddess is fish (R. Ghirshman, *Persia from the Origins to Alexander the Great*, London, 1964, p. 48). The representation of a horse in the Oxus treasure may probably be associated with a prayer to the goddess of plants and birds. Perhaps the goddess Ashi, of whom in Avesta (Yasht, 17, 12) says: 'Those with whom you go have fearsome horses, swiftly moving in free space'. (*Ibid.*, p. 94). It will be seen later on that Śrī was also connected ultimately with the horse, though this fact alone may not prove her connection with Ashi.

Artemis with whom we have suggested the identification of Ttimissakesi of the *Aṅgavijjā* is also mentioned in the *Bhaishajyavastu* of the Gilgit text:⁹

⁷ O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London (Third Edition), 1964, p. 27.

⁸ E. O. James, *The Cult of the Mother Goddess*, London, 1959, pp. 94-95.

⁹ *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Ed. by N. Dutt, Vol. III, Part I, Srinagar, 1947, p. 17.

It is mentioned that the Buddha on his visit to Mathura managed to discipline the Yakshini Timisikā with four hundred members of her family. Perhaps this Timisikā was the same as Timissakesi and represented the Greek goddess Artemis, though what form she adopted in India is not known.

Artemis originally was an Earth-mother and Mistress of the Beasts in the forests and hills in which she roamed, hunted and danced before she became a city-divinity. She also protected young animals. As a goddess of fertility she assisted females of all species to bring forth their young and helped women in the pain of child birth.

In keeping with the common function of the Mother goddesses Artemis and Śrī have certain common interest such as love for animals and fertility. But she is nearer to the Vedic goddess Aranyāni than Śrī. "The forest as a whole appears as a deity under the name of Aranyāni, the jungle goddess, who is invoked in RV. 10. 146. Here she is called the mother of beasts, abounding in food without tillage; and various uncanny sounds heard in her dark solitudes are weirdly described."¹⁰

Śrī also bore an intimate relationship with Prithivī. As a matter of fact in later iconography Vishnu's two consorts are Bhūdevī and Śrīdevī. The HV. III. 12.4 equates Śrī-Lakshmi (*Padmāsanaḍevī*) with Prithivī. Śrī and Prithivī share many common traits which show close association between the two goddesses. The Earth goddess Prithivī¹¹ is the same as Aditi the Universal Goddess (*Vīśvarūptī*) (TB. I. 7.6.7). The ŚB. II. 2.1.19 asserts 'Verily the Earth is Aditi. Elsewhere the ŚB. VII. 4.3.7 observes that 'Aditi is this Earth, the container and supporter of the whole world'. The AB. VIII. 5 is explicit in identifying Śrī with Prithivī, 'The Earth is Śrī (*iyam Prithivī vai Śrī*)'.

The Earth as a goddess of fertility is referred to in the ŚB. XII. 4.7. The (Earth) is the womb! (*yonirvā iyam Prithivī*). The fertility aspect of the Earth is further stressed in the ŚB. III. 5.2.12 where she is compared as a lioness winning abundant offsprings and wealth.

The maternal aspect of the Earth has been stressed several times. In the AV. XII. 1.12 it is proclaimed: 'She is the mother I am her son' (*mātā putro aham prithivyāḥ*). The TB. II. 8.9.1 says 'The Earth the mother' (*iyam prithivī vai mātā*). In TB. II. 4.6.8 she is 'Earth the great mother'. In the ŚB. V. 3.1.4 it is said that the Earth like a mother nourished the people.

Prithivī is not only the mother of human beings but also of plants and corn which she nourishes. She is addressed in the AV. XII. 1.4 as 'She who is Lady of the earth's four regions, in whom our food and corn-lands (*kṛishṭayāḥ*)

¹⁰ A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Varanasi, 1963 (Reprint), p. 154.

¹¹ V. S. Agrawala, "Mathura Terracottas," *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. IX, Pt. 2, July 1936, pp. 6-38.

had there being.⁷ She is particularly mentioned as the protectress of trees and plants (*AV. XII. 1.57*). She is verily the house of birds, and kine and horses (*gavāmāśvānām vayasascha vishthā*), this *Prithivī* vouchsafed luck (*AV. XII. 1.5*). *Prithivī* is also the source of all treasures. She is called the nourisher of the world (*viśvambharā*), store-house of all treasures (*vasudhānt*) and gold-breasted (*hiranyavakshā*) (*AV. XII. 1.6*). This idea of *Prithivī* as the source of all treasures is further expanded in a hymn in the *AV. XII. 1.44*:

"May Earth the Goddess, she who bears her treasure stored up in many a place, gold, gems, and riches,

Giver of opulence, grant great possession to us bestowing them with love and favour."

Prithivī, like the goddess *Artemis* also associated with fierce wild beasts from whose depredations she protects the people. The *AV. XII. 49* observes:

"All sylvan beasts of thine that love the woodlands, man-eaters, forest-haunting, lions, tigers,

Hyena, wolf, Misfortune, evil spirit, drive from us, chase the demons to a distance."

The poet is in love with *Prithivī* and extols her fragrance which permeates plants and the waters. To quote the *AV. XII. 1.23*:—

"Scent that hath risen from thee, O Earth, the fragrance which growing herbs and plants and waters carry,

Shared by *Apsarases*, shared by *Gandharvas*, there-with make thou me sweet: let no man hate me."

The earth's fragrance also entered the lotus (*vaste gandhaḥ pushkarama-riveśa*). *AV. XII. 1.24* thereby establishing a close contact with the lotus *Prithivī* and *Śrī*.

Prithivī as a goddess appears in *RV. V. 84. 1-3* where she is called the bearer of the tool that rends the hills thereby meaning that she wields the *vajra* or thunder bolt. She is said to be rich in torrents that fertilize the earth which is designated as *bhūmī* as opposed to the Earth goddess designated as *Prithivī*. Her association with the clouds is emphasized and she is regarded as the mistress of the woods. When the lightning strikes her clouds the rain descends.

Prithivī also seems to have been associated with the funeral rites. In his excavations at Lauriya T.B. Bloch found from the mounds M and N along

a small deposit of human bone-mixed up with charcoal two small gold leaves with the naked female figures who are shown in a strictly frontal and hieratic pose, the legs close together and the feet pointing in opposite directions. The hips are steatopygous and the hands are lowered at the sides and the vulva is prominently rendered.¹²

Bloch is of the opinion and probably he is right that the mounds at Lauriya are funerary mounds. He identifies the goddess as Prithivi quoting *RV.* X. 18.10 which says that Prithivi is the saviour of the body from Nirrti, the goddess of death and decay.

It is significant to note here that the nude goddess on the Lauriya gold leaves is iconographically almost identical with the figure of the Mother goddess prominently identified as Śrī depicted on Mauryan carved discs. This feature also should support the view that the iconography of Śrī and Prithivi was very much mixed up.

As we have pointed out above the concept of Śrī contains many elements which project her visual image. We are not concerned here with the abstract concept of Śrī and Lakshmi in the *Vedas*, as the subject has been amply dealt by Oldenberg,¹³ Coomaraswamy¹⁴ and Gonda.¹⁵ Here we are concerned only with that phase in her development when she actually assumed the role of a goddess. Śrī and Lakshmi appear together as two heavenly deities in the *VS.* XXXI. However, interesting information about Śrī in the form of a goddess is obtained from the *ŚB.* XI. 4.3.6-20. The myth points out that Prajāpati heated in the act of creation created Śrī who, 'stood resplendent, shining and trembling.'

Seeing her form the gods were attracted towards her. Spared by Prajāpati from the envy of the gods who wanted to kill her, Agni received from her food, Varuna his universal sovereignty, Mitra his noble rank, Bṛhaspati his holy lustre, Sāvitra his domain, Pūshan his wealth, Sarasvatī her prosperity and Tvashṭr his beautiful form. According to the *ŚB.* X. 2.1.49 Śrī is immortal and effulgent. The sacrifice of the Aśvamedha is compared with Śrī (*ŚB.* X. 1.4.14). At the time of the Rājasūya sacrifice the lion-skin on which the king sat is called Śrī (*ŚB.* X. 1.4.14).

It is thus evident that Śrī assuming the role of a goddess was distinguished by her resplendent figure and she became the dispenser of food, universal sovereignty, noble rank, domain and beautiful form. All these virtues as-

¹² *ASI., Ann. Rep.* 1906-07, pp. 119.

¹³ H. Oldenberg, "Vedic Words for 'Beautiful' and 'Beauty' and the Vedic sense of the Beautiful", *Rupam*, No. 32, Oct. 1927, pp. 98-121.

¹⁴ A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography, II, Śrī-Lakshmi", *Eastern Art*, Vol. I, 1929; *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, 1930, pp. 240-41.

¹⁵ J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vjñānism*, Utrecht, 1954.

sociated with her find full expression in the development of Śrī as expounded in the *Śrī-Sūkta*,¹⁴ a *Khila* of the *RV*, and in the *MB*.

The central point of the *Sūkta* is that it stresses the absolute identity of Śrī with Lakshmi. She is golden hued (*hiranyavarṇām*), she wears a gold and silver necklace (*suvarṇarajatasrajām*), she is moon-faced, radiant as the sun, fawn-eyed (*hariṣṭm*), and the bestower of gold, cattle and horses. She rides a chariot yoked with horses and delights in the trumpeting of elephants (*hastinādapramodinīm*). She wears a golden *chādar* (*hiranya prāvarām*) she is moist (*ārdrām*), resplendent (*jvalanīm*), satisfied and satisfier (*triptām tarpayanīm*). She is haloed like moon (*chandrām prabhāsām*) and effulgent with glory (*yaśasā jvalanīm*). She stands on a lotus (*padmasthitām*), she is lotus hued (*padmavarṇām*), she holds a lotus flower (*padmanemīm*), and she wears a lotus garland (*padmamālīnīm*). Her favourite is *bilva* tree and fruit which are supposed to drive away misfortune from within and without. She is associated with Kubera (*devasakhaḥ*) and Maṇibhadra (*Maṇinā saha*). She is prayed for fame and prosperity (*vṛiddhīm*) and removal of hunger, thirst, Jyeshthā-Alakshmi (misfortune), poverty and adversity. She is perceptible through odour (*gandhadvārām*), well supplied (*nityapushṭām*),¹⁵ abounding in dung (*kartshīṇīm*) and the Mistress of all Beings (*īśvarīm sarvabhūtānām*). She is associated with cattle and food. Her excellent progeny is said to be mud (*kardama*) which created life. She is associated with oozing slime (*chiklita*). She is said to live in lotus pond. She holds the stick decorated with golden necklace (*yaśṭīm suvarṇām hemamālīnīm*).

It is evident from the *Śrī-Sūkta* that Śrī is pictured here as the guardian deity of farmers. The commentary on the *TĀ*. X. 1.43 calls her *mṛttikābhīmāninīdevatā*, the goddess proud of the soil. The *Rgvidhāna*¹⁶ describes a series of rites requiring *bilva* fruits and lotus flowers intended to invoke the goddess to come into a lotus or into gold.¹⁷ Her designation as 'moist' (*ārdra*) also implies fresh green as a plant, living. Her association with the waters is indicated by the lotus and the mud and slime from which it grew. Her odour reminds the fragrance of the earth which entered the lotus. *AV*. XII. 1.24.

It is evident from the *Śrī-Sūkta* that Lakshmi was only a synonym of Śrī. Lakshmi perhaps originally stands for a separate divinity representing the signs, evidences and prognostication of luck and prosperity is later on conceived as the goddess of gold and wealth. But as a corn goddess her functions are similar to that of Śrī with whom she is equated. She is sometimes associated with a basket of unhusked rice at the time of her festival. She is said to manifest

¹⁴ Fitz-Edward Hall, "The *Śrī-Sūkta* or *Litany to Fortune*", *JASB*, XXVIII (1859), pp. 25-129; J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Rg Veda*, Breslav, 1906, pp. 72-73.

¹⁵ The Commentary explains—*nityām nirantara saṁyadibhiḥ pushṭām samṛiddhām*, meaning ever prosperous by vegetation etc.

¹⁶ *The Rgvidhāna*, tr. by J. Gonda, Utrecht, 1951, 2.17.6.

¹⁷ Gonda, *Aspects of early Vṛjūism*, p. 214.

herself in the shape of seedlings grown in a winnowing basket. According to the *MB.* XIII. 11. 14 she lives in maidens, in ornaments, in the rain clouds, in lakes filled with lotus flowers, elephants and kings on the throne.²⁰

Sitā as furrow or cultivated earth appears as a fertility goddess, in *RV.* IV. 57.6-7. She was worshipped with milk to obtain prosperity. In the rites relating to the furrow (*Śītāyajña*, *Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra*, 2.17.91) its sacrifices are held in the rice or barley field and Sitā is invoked with Śrī. According to the Jain *Bṛihat Kalpasūtra Bhāṣya* (3647) in this Yajña (*Śītā janno*) the plough was worshipped.

The Purāṇas mention several legends about the origin of Śrī-Lakṣmī. One legend (*MB.* XII. 59. 133-134) establishes her association with Viṣṇu and Dharma. It says that from Viṣṇu's forehead sprang a golden lotus from which was born Śrī who was united to Dharma. From this union was born wealth (*artha*). In the Paurāṇic literature, however, Śrī-Lakṣmī is treated as the wife of Viṣṇu. The wife of Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇupatni*) mentioned in the *AV.* VII. 46.3 is not Lakṣmī. She is perhaps the same as Sīnivali who is said to be possessed of beautiful limbs and stately (AV. VII. 46.2). Sīnivali at one place in *AV.* is also called the wife of Viṣṇu.²¹ Gonda is of the opinion that Sīnivali could be equated with Pṛithivī and as Pṛithivī and Śrī are also equated Śrī's association with Viṣṇu could be of a fairly early date.

In the Paurāṇic literature Śrīvatsa became Viṣṇu's favourite symbol. His various synonyms are Śrīvāhavaksha, Śrīvāsa, Śrīpatī, Śrīmatāmbara, Śrīśa, Śrīnivāsa, Śrīnidhī, Śrīvibhāvana, Śrīdhara, Śrīkara and Śrīmān (*MB.* XIII. 135. 77-78).

The legend of the churning of the ocean is of late origin but it throws light on Śrī's close association with the waters and other objects. The *MB.* I. 16.34, simply observes that she emerged from the ocean dressed in white and thereafter was followed by Surādēvī and the white horse. The *Viṣṇu P.* I. 9. 100-105, however, gives a full version of the legend. It is said that in the course of the churning the ocean at first appeared Dhanvantari followed by the resplendent Śrī standing on an expanded lotus and also holding a lotus. The saints assembled there worshipped her by reciting the *Śrī-Sūkta*. There was dancing and music by Gandharvas and Apsarases. The Gaṅgā and other rivers presented themselves for the lustration and the Diggajas (presiding elephants of the directions) poured water over her from golden pitchers. The milky ocean presented her with a lotus garland and Viśvakarman, the heavenly architect, decorated her person with ornaments. Thus decorated she took her place on the chest of Viṣṇu. Indra in his prayer to her brings out the outstanding features of her character. (*Viṣṇu P.* I. 9. 117-133). The prayer begins "I bow

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²¹ Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 25.

to you, Lady of the Lotus, your eyes are like expanded lotuses. Your stay on Vishnu's chest your abode is in the lotus (*padmālayam*). You hold lotus.....
you are peaceful and terrible, you are the bestower of wife, sons, house, wealth, grain and friends. You are destroyer of the enemy".

It is mentioned in the *Līṅga Purāṇa* that at the time of churning the ocean at first appeared Alakṣmī followed by Lakṣmī, the former called Jyeshthā or Elder.²² The reference finds an echo of Jyeshthā-Alakṣmī of the *Śrī-Sūkta* (8).

The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* I. 41. 33-36 gives a different version about the origin of Lakṣmī. It is said that in Svāyambhuva Manvantara she appeared as Bhṛigu's daughter, in Svārochisha Manvantara she was born as the daughter of Agni, in Tāmasa Manvantara she appeared as the daughter of Prithivī, in Rūpata Manvantara she was born of *bilva*, in Chākshusha Manvantara she sprang from a blossoming lotus and in Vaivasvata Manvantara she appeared from the churning of the ocean.

Thus in a nutshell the *Vishṇudharmottara* establishes the relationship of Śrī with Bhṛigu, Agni, Prithivī, *bilva*, lotus and the ocean.

The iconography of Śrī Lakṣmī as described in the *Purāṇas* also conforms to her original concept in the *Śrī-Sūkta*. In the *Matsya P.* CCLX. 40.47 she is represented as youthful, firm breasted and red lipped. Her tresses are decorated with the lotus, Svastika and conches and she wears a long tunic, necklaces, armlets, bracelets and the zone. She holds a lotus in the left hand and *bilva* in the right. On her either side stands a *chauri*-bearer standing on lotus. She is lustrated by an elephant on either side. The *Lokesas*, *Gandharvas*, *Yakshas*, *Siddhas*, *Asuras*, *Nāgas*, *Pisāchas*, etc. offer prayer to her.

The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* III. 82. 1-6 ordains that Lakṣmī should be two-handed seated on *sinihāsana* on which is placed an expanded lotus. She also holds a lotus. In the four-handed type in the natural right hand she holds a lotus with its stalk touching the armlet, the other hands hold a *pūrṇaghaṭa* and *śaṅkha*. Behind her stand two elephants pouring water over her from pitchers. A lotus shades her head. The text further describes the symbolism of the lotus, the *pūrṇaghaṭa*, the conch-shell and *bilva*. The conch-shell represents goodluck, *bilva* the whole world, *pūrṇaghaṭa* the essence of the waters (*apām saromṛitam*) and the lotus wealth and prosperity. The two elephants represent the *nīdhis*, *śaṅkha* and *padma*. Lakṣmī's forms are further expanded into Rājāśrī, Svargalakṣmī, Brāhmī and Jayalakṣmī.

It may also be noted that though the equation of Śrī and Prithivī is fairly evident, in their iconographical details as well they are fairly close together. The *Vishṇudharmottara* III. 61. 1-4 prescribes that Prithivī should be of very

²² Govind Chandra, *Prāchīna Bhārat men Lakṣmī Pratīmā* (Hindi), Varanasi, n.d. p. 40.

fair colour and bejewelled and wear white garments. In her four hands she holds a jewel bowl (*ratnapātra*), a grain bowl (*sasyapātra*), a bowl full of vegetation (*ohshadhipātra*) and a lotus. In the background appeared the four Diggajas. The goddess is regarded as the source of vegetation. Her white garment symbolizes Dharma and the lotus the treasures.

As has already pointed out that Śrī in the beginning was the goddess of farmers and fertility and the *ārdra* 'moist', *karishni*, 'abounding in dung', *kardama* 'mud', *chiklita* 'slime' seem to be words adopted from a farmer's vocabulary. Śrī's intimate relation with the cow-dung is peculiarly enough stressed in the MB. XIII. 81. Yudhishtira asked Bhishma how contact was established between Śrī and the cow-dung. He related the dialogue which ensued between Śrī and the cows. It is said that Śrī assuming a beautiful form (*vapuḥ kāntam*), entered the cows who were wonderstruck at her resplendent beauty (*rūpasya sampadam*). There at she informed them that she was Śrī the popular goddess (*loka-kāntā*). Indra, Vivasvat, Soma, Vishnu, Agni, the *rishis* and gods gained prosperity through her and that she also wanted to offer a gift to them as well. But the cows instead of being grateful for the offer called her fickle-minded and asked her to leave them alone as they were all healthy. Śrī wondered at their attitude as the gods, the Asuras and Nāgas all sought her protection. Being refused several times by the cows Śrī asked them at least to point out some part of their body where she could reside. Moved by the insignificant request they agreed that she should reside in their dung and urine. Thus her ancient function as abounding in the dung, a necessary aid to agricultural operations is fully supported by the MB.

Śrī also seems to have been included among Yakshinis. The *Śrī-Sūkta* mentions her relationship with Kubera and Yaksha Manibhadra. Coomaraswamy²³ has rightly pointed out that the general character of the Yaksha type includes universal deities like Kubera, Kāmadeva and Śrī. In keeping with the character of other Yakshas Śrī is also associated with the waters. At Bharhut Śirimā devatā appears in the company of Yakshinis. A Devatā holding a bundle of lotus flowers has been identified by Coomaraswamy as Śrī.²⁴ Another Devatā at Bharhut holding a lamp and standing on a full blown lotus is identified by Coomaraswamy as the prototype of Sarasvatī of late Brahmanical iconography.²⁵ It is significant to note in this connection that in literature often Śrī and Sarasvatī are equated.

The commentary on the *Śrī-Sūkta* on verse 7 (Hall, *loc. cit.*, p. 127) gives some interesting details of Śrī's connection with Kubera and others. It says: *Devasakhah devo Mahādevastasya sakhā Kuberoḥ. Kīrtiścha kīrtiyabhimānini Dakṣhakanyā devatā; Kuberakolaśālā, Sā vācha maṇinā chintāmaṇinā Maṇi-*

²³ *Yakṣas*, II, p. 13.

²⁴ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris, 1926, p. 61, Pl. XVI, fig. 40.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63, Pl. XVIII, fig. 45.

bhadreṇa koshādhyakshena saha sārḍhamupaitu upagechchhatu. "Devasakha is Mahādeva's friend, Kīrti proud of her form is the daughter of Dakṣha or Kubera's treasury is Kīrti. She with the wishing jewel, Chintāmaṇi, may hold treasurer Maṇibhadra."

It may be noted here that certain symbols such as the *makara*, etc. to be discussed later on, Śrī shares with the river goddesses because these symbols are associated with the waters. As observed by Coomaraswamy, "Iconographically the differentiated form of the river goddesses (in northern India only) is directly derived from the Yakṣi-dryad, and this implies that the latter, despite the vegetal and apparently terrestrial habitat, was still primarily a spirit of the waters."²⁶

The *bilva* tree and fruit were favourite of Śrī as mentioned in the *Śrī-Sūkta* and other sources. It is mentioned in the *AB*, II, 1.6 ff. that those desirous of Śrī were enjoined to raise up the *yūpa* of *bilva* tree with the branches. In the *Manusmṛiti* V, 120 *bilva* is called *Śrīphala*. It is mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* XXXVII, 9.15 that to the east of Śrīsara was situated an extensive forest of *bilva* (*bilva-vana*) which yielded sweet golden fruits. It was known as *Śrīvāna* inhabited by Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Nāgas and Siddhas who assembled there to eat the *bilva* fruit. Śrī resided there. It is mentioned in the *Kāṇḍikā* that in the courtyard of the temple of Chāṇḍī there grew *bilva* trees along with the date and other palm-trees.²⁷

The *bilva* tree and fruit are also sacred to Śiva and Ambā. It is difficult to say as to why it is so, but the possibility is that the *bilva* fruit because of its mass of seed came to be regarded as a fruit symbolizing fertility. A parallel may be drawn to the pomegranate which perhaps because of its seeds became a symbol of the Iranian goddess Anāhita.

Another feature of Śrī on which *Śrī-Sūkta* lays stress is her resplendent beauty, a fact supported by Paurāṇic and iconographical sources. Her golden complexion, the fawn-like eyes²⁸ and the moon face are all praised. The *MB*, often refers to Śrī's beauty as a point of comparison. Thus Gīṛika's great beauty is compared with that of Śrī (*MB*, I, 57, 38; *atīva rūpasampannām sākṣhāch-chhriyamivaparām*). Śakuntalā is said to be as beautiful as Śrī (*MB*, I, 65.3).

According to the *Śrī-Sūkta* I, Śrī wore a necklace made of gold and silver beads (*suvarṇarajatasrajām*), though *sraja* as suggested by Govind Chandra might have been an ornament attached to the forehead. It is remarkable that even today women while worshipping Lakṣmī on the eighth of the black

²⁶ Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Part II, p. 55.

²⁷ S. K. Dikshit, *The Mother Goddess*, Poona, n.d., p. 78.

²⁸ The Commentary on verse (Hall, *loc. cit.*, p. 125), says that the word *harīṇīm* may mean green-coloured or doe-shaped. According to the *Devī Purāṇa* Śrī assuming the form of a doe roamed in a forest. The relation of Śrī and the doe will be discussed later on.

half of Āsvina, an ornament made up of barley-shaped silver and gold beads known as *jūtiyā* is put on their heads.²⁹

Another characteristic feature of Śrī is that she was connected with a golden pillar (*yashṭi*) decorated with a golden necklace (*suvarṇam hemamālīnīm*). Whatever may be the explanation of the *suvarṇa yashṭīnīm*, it is evident as in the second century B.C. at least pillars were raised in honour of Śrī.³⁰ V. S. Agrawala sees in the representation of ornamented pillars on the outside of the left pillar of the Northern Gateway of Stūpa I at Sanchi the vestige of Śrī *Yashṭi*. According to him it represents the *Suvarṇa-Yashṭi* with eight pegs for hanging golden necklaces (*hemamālā*), a visible symbol of Śrī Lakshmī, who resplendent as the sun takes the form of a golden pillar loaded with golden necklaces.

In two necklaces on a pillar in the Northern Gateway, Sanchi appear some symbols which seem to be connected with the cult of Śrī-Lakshmī. In one necklace appear eleven symbols and in the second thirteen symbols. Among the symbols may be mentioned the sun, wheel, lotus pond, goad, Indra's banner (*vaijayanṭi*), the lotus, a pair of fish (*mīna-yugala*), battle axe (*paraśu*), mirror (*darpaṇa*), *kalpavriksha*, and garlands (*mālyadāma*) and *śrīvatsa*. Later on the number became fixed in Jain *Āyāgapattas* and this new set of symbols was denoted as *Aṣṭa Maṅgalakamālā* which included *mīna mīthuna*, *devamānagriha*, *śrīvatsa*, *varāhamāna*, *triratna*, *pushpadāma*, *vaijayanṭi* and *pūrṇaghata*.

Śrī-Lakshmī as a goddess of wealth is well known. The 68th chapter of the *Mār. P.*³¹ describes the *Padmīnī Vidyā* with its Eight *Nidhis* which brought gems, garlands, garments, ornaments, unguent, pots and pans, furnished beds and proficiency in music. As a matter of fact *Padmīnī Vidyā* is defined as a *Māyā* (*vidyā*) which brought to the devotee all desired objects (*Mār. P. LXVI. 7*). Lakshmī is named as the presiding deity of *Padmīnī Vidyā* (*Padmīnī nāmā yā vidyā Lakshmīstasyādhidevatā. Mār. P. LXVII. 2*). According to the *Mār. P. LXVIII. 5* the *nidhis* are namely, *Padma*, *Mahāpadma*, *Makara*, *Kachchhapa*, *Mukunda*, *Nandaka*, *Nīla* and *Śaṅkha*. Curiously, each *nidhi* is associated with some lucrative profession. The following are the *nidhis*:

1. *Padma*: It indicates the wealth in term of gold, silver and other merchandise. Their dealers were typical shroffs who enjoyed hereditary wealth. They performed Yajñas, distributed *dakṣhiṇā* and built temples and mansions.

2. *Mahāpadma*: Its possessor dealt in precious stones, pearls and coral.

²⁹ Govind Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁰ V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 158-159.

³¹ V. S. Agrawala, "Padmīnī Vidyā of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa," *Purāṇa*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Feb. 1960, pp. 188-197.

Apparently they were jewellers by profession. Their profession was also hereditary.

3. *Makara*: The *nidhi* was associated with a class of merchants who dealt in weapons such as arrows, swords, bows, shields and horses. Their wealth lasted only for one generation. They were friendly to kings and soldiers.

4. *Kachchhapa*: The owner of this *nidhi* was an extremely miserly and self conceited fellow.

5. *Mukunda*: The *nidhi* was associated with hereditarily rich persons fond of music, dancing, drama and poetry. They gave money to artists for their performances.

6. *Nandaka*: or *Nandyāvarta*: This *nidhi* was associated with landlords, feudal chiefs, etc. They supported their own families, kept big harems and possessed precious stones.

7. *Nilā*: It was associated with that class of merchants who dealt with merchandise and building stores such as textile, cotton, grain, fruit, flowers, pearl, coral, shell, timber, etc. They built ponds, tanks, gardens, dykes across the rivers and planted trees. Their fortune lasted for three generations.

8. *Śaṅkha*: The eighth *nidhi* was associated with tight-fisted persons who enjoyed good food and clothing of their own making, made their families miserable and made no gift to their friends and relatives.

It is difficult to say on what basis the above classification of the *nidhis* was made and each *nidhi* assigned to different social groups. It is, however, evident that the majority of the symbols are associated with the water cosmology. The *Paṇḍita*, *Mahāpaṇḍita*, *Makara*, *Kachchhapa* and *Śaṅkha* are definitely associated with the waters. It is possible that at some early time the *makara* in a secondary sense stood as a symbol of maritime commerce i.e. prosperity, then it became the vehicle of Varuna and lastly the vehicle of Gaṅgā. The *Śaṅkha* in the AV. IV. 10. 1-4 is said to be gold-born, source of the pearl, born from the sea. As a symbol of Śrī-Lakshmi it not only appears in the *Vishnudhar. Pur.* III. 82.7, but also on the Besnagar Pillar capital, with which we will deal later on.

The Jainas, both Śvetāmbara and Digambara have eight auspicious symbols. Some of which are common to both Hindu and Jain. It is, however, difficult to say what exact relation the Jain symbols bore to Śrī-Lakshmi cult. The traditional auspicious symbols are *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *nandyāvarta*, *vardhamānaka* (water-flask), *bhadrāsana* (throne), *kalāśa* (the full pitcher), *darpaṇa* (mirror) and *matsya-yugala* (a pair of

fish).³² It may, however, be conceded that the royal seat, the wishing bowl, the full pitcher and the pair of fish are all connected with the complex ideological and iconographical concepts of Śrī.

The Jain auspicious symbols served as a decorative element for architraves, Chaitya tree platforms, *ball-paṭṭas* and the *āyāgapaṭṭas* of the Kushāṇa period. However, in this period some more symbols as *ratnarūṣī* (heap of precious stones), *triratna*, etc. also appear. It is therefore, evident that in the Kushāṇa period the set of the Eight Auspicious symbols had not been finally settled.

The true significance of the Jain symbols remain unexplained, though the *Achārādīnakara*, a late Jain text tries to interpret them with a religious bias. Thus the *kalasa* according to the text, represents the Jina as the very 'full-vessel' to his family. The mirror stands for seeing the reflection of one's true self; the *bhadrāsana* signifies the seat by the Jina and the *varḍhāmānaka* symbolizes the increase of wealth, fame, merit, etc. by the grace of the Lord. "It is said that the highest knowledge has manifested itself from the heart of the Jina, in the form of *śrīvatsa*-mark on his chest. Svastika, according to the text, signifies *svasti*, that is, *śānti* or peace, *nandīāvarta* (diagram) with its nine points stands for the nine *nidhis* (treasures). The pair of fish is the symbol of Cupid's banners come to worship the Jina after the defeat of the god of Love."³³

Another set of fourteen symbols appearing in the dreams of Triśalā and Devānandā are closely associated with Śrī as we will see later on. The symbols are:³⁴

(1) An elephant (*gaja*), (2) a bull (*vasaha*), (3) a lion (*siha*) (4) the anointing (*abhisīya*) of Śrī-Lakshmi, (5) a garland (*dāma*), (6) the moon (*sasi*), (7) the sun (*dīnayaram*), (8) a flag (*jhayam*), (9) a vase (*kumbham*), (10) a lotus lake (*padmasara*), (11) the ocean (*sāgara*), (12) a celestial abode (*vimānabhavana*), (13) a heap of jewels (*rayanuchchaya*) and (14) a flame (*sihṭm*).

Dr. U. P. Shah basing his information on some commentary of the *Kalpa-sūtra* has given some details about the dream symbols. Thus the elephant is white, the bull is encircled by an aura of light, the lion is white and playful, the four-handed Śrī carries lotuses and the moon is full, the sun is red the banner is tied to a golden staff tipped with a lion, the full vase is filled with water and lotus flowers, the abode of Fortune and the lake are swarming with bees and aquatic birds. The ocean is the Milky Ocean with agitated water and filled with marine creatures and the celestial palace is provided with columns, garlands and sculptures. In the list of dream symbols the Digam-

³² U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, pp. 109-110.

³³ U. P. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³⁴ H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, Part I, Delhi, 1964 (Reprint), p. 219.

bara tradition include a pair of fish, the aerial car and Nāgendra Bhavana (the abode of the Nāga king).³⁵

We have already referred to Śrī's *yashī* or staff and the explanation offered by Dr. Agrawala, though it is another matter to accept or reject his view. However, it is possible that at some remote time wooden *yūpas* might have been raised in honour of Śrī. This surmise is supported by the existence of at least two stone pillars dedicated to Śrī, one of which comes from Vidisha. Cunningham³⁶ recognized in the Besnagar pillar capital Kalpadruma represented by a banyan tree with long pendent roots from which square pieces of money are falling and overflowing the vessels placed below. The upper part of the tree nearly spherical in shape is covered with large leaves and small berries of *Ficus Indica*. Below is the cylindrical neck shooting from which are stems and roots forming eight compartments. "In these are placed alternatively, four vessels full of money and four-skins of wine (?). These last may perhaps be intended for bags of money as each is fastened with a band round the neck. The open vessels are all different. One is a large shell standing on its end; a second is a full-blown lotus flower; a third is a '*loṭā*', or a common water-vessel" (Cunningham). The conchshell and the lotus flower exuding coins are correctly identified as the two *nidhis* of Kubera. According to Banerjea,³⁷ the eight objects coming down from the banyan tree are four bags and four open vessels all containing money and the earliest representations of eight *nidhis* of Kubera (*Vāyu P.* XLVII, 9-10). However, these *nidhis* did not exclusively belong to Kubera and as shown earlier they were also intimately associated with the cult of Śrī.

The banyan capital at Besnagar (3rd—2nd century B.C.) was probably placed, according to Coomaraswamy on the top of a column standing in front of a shrine of Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa whose special cognizance is a bag or a vase full of coins. However, Banerjea suggests, perhaps rightly, that the column as well might have faced a shrine of Śrī, the Goddess of Fortune, whose association with Kubera as well as his Eight Treasures is well known.³⁸

To strengthen his view further Banerjea identifies the colossal female statue which was found very near to the banyan capital by Cunningham as none other than Śrī herself.

Sirimā of Bharhut and Besnagar both have a similarity of concept. "Both these figures conform to the early Indian concept about female beauty, characterised by a prominent bust and protuberant hips indicative of motherhood

³⁵ U. P. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

³⁶ A. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. X, p. 43; J. N. Banerjea, "Padmini-Vidyā," *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. IX, 1941, pp. 141-146.

³⁷ Banerjea, *J.I.S.O.A.*, 1941, p. 142.

³⁸ Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, II.

and fecundity. This is known in comparatively late texts as 'nyagrodhapari-maṇḍalā' type, in which the breasts are firm and prominent, the buttocks spacious and the middle part comparatively narrow. This emphasis on productivity is quite apposite in the case of the goddess Śrī (Sirimā) who is the presiding deity of Padmīnī-vidyā which brings forth earthly enjoyment (*bhogopāṇḍikā*).³⁹

The physical charm of Śrī as pointed out by Banerjia and the epics, *Purāṇas* and iconographical literature is not only evident from early representations of Śrī in stone, but as we will see later on also in carved stone discs and terracotta figurines as well. As a matter of fact this standard of female beauty was laid down as early as the ŚB.⁴⁰ The steatopygia of a woman and her slender waist are praised:

evamiya hi yoshām praśaṁsanti prithuśronīh, vimṛśitātārāmsā madhye saṁgrāhyeti. ŚB. I. 2.5.16.

While describing the shape of altar the ŚB. III. 5.1.11 says that "it should be broader on the west side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the east side; for thus shaped they praise a woman: 'broad about the hips, somewhat narrow between the shoulders, and contracted in the middle (or, about the waist).'"

The fact that pillars were being raised in honour of Śrī is further supported by the Lalabhat pillar.⁴¹ Lalabhat, a small village in Dehrapur Tehsil of Kanpur District has a broken red sandstone pillar. On one of the octagonal portion relief connected with the Śrī cult appears. At the top are represented a couple of flying geese carrying a box-like object suspended to a pole. The box may indicate a jewel-casket. A little below appears the Sun god seated in his chariot drawn by four horses. A female figure on the right holds an umbrella over his head and the female figure on the left carries a *chauri*. The horses are trampling over the head of a demon, who according to Vats symbolizes the spirit of darkness. The three female figures representing Ushā, Pratyūshā and Chhāyā, the three wives of Sūrya stand on a double row of thirteen dwarfish figures identified by Sivaramamurti as Bālakhilya Rishis. Below the dwarfs is represented a dancing peacock with its tail spread fanwise. Below the peacock appears one elephant facing to the left. The lowermost scene represents Śrī-Lakshmi receiving her lustration from an elephant standing on either side pouring water over her head from upturned pitchers. To her proper right appears a Yaksha carrying on his head the bowl of plenty and a pillar crowned by a cock. It is obvious from this pillar that the large figure of a cock carved in the round found from the site must have served as the crowning feature of the Lalabhat pillar.

³⁹ *J.I.S.O.A.*, 1941, p. 144-145.

⁴⁰ V. S. Agrawala, *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. IX, 1, July 1936, p. 16.

⁴¹ Lalabhat, A. S. I., *Annual Report*, 1929-30, pp. 132-133, Pl. XXXI, d-g.

It is evident from the scenes represented on the Lalabhagat pillar that they are intimately associated with the cult of Śrī-Lakshmi. The pair of geese, the peacock, the cock, the lotus and the elephant are as we will see later on depicted on the carved stone discs depicting Śrī-Lakshmi. These symbols on the pillar are, however, somewhat elaborated. For instance, the sun depicted on the carved stone discs is merely a rayonnant circle, but here he is treated with full iconographical details. Śrī-Lakshmi here is accompanied by a Yaksha, but on the carved stone discs she appears singly. The Lalabhagat pillar is dated to the first century B.C.

III

THE LOTUS

The lotus symbolizing the water cosmology has a unique place in Indian art and literature. It is associated closely with Śrī. She is addressed as seated on a lotus (*padmāsthītā*), holding a lotus (*padmanemin*), dwelling in a lotus lake (*pushkariṇī*) and wearing a lotus garland (*padmāmālīnī*). The lotus rosette associated with elephants, or a *pūrṇaghaṭa* with lotus over which is seated a divinity often accompanied by an elephant on either side each mounted on a lotus sprinkling water from the vases are favourite motifs of Indian art. M. Foucher considered this motif as the symbol of the Nativity of Buddha. According to him the goddess on the lotus represents Māyā, and the elephants the lustration ceremony. This identification has been rightly challenged by Coomaraswamy on the basis that the goddess appears on non-Buddhist tribal coins as well. The lotus was not only the symbol of Śrī, the goddess Pṛithivī is also connected with it and it was also the cognizance of Ambā and Umā in early times. The lotus rhizomes are closely associated with Yakshas and the *makara* who are shown blowing them and rosettes also form an important decorative element in early Indian art. As a matter of fact according to the *Vishnudharmottara Purāṇa* III. 45. 1-9 the lotus symbolizes the whole world. A deity who is to be invoked should first be established in a lotus and then worshipped without mixing him with some other deity. The gods to be invoked are Brahmā, Hari, Rudra, Śakra, Sūrya and Śaśin. The goddess Śrī was also invoked through the medium of lotus. This lotus apparently in Yantra form was made of gold, silver, copper and brass.

The *ŚB.* V. 4. 5. 14, mentions that in the symbolism of lotus the leaves symbolize the sky and stars, its seed-stalks represent air and its suckers the earth. The *ŚB.* VII. 4.1.8 mentions that "the lotus means the waters, and the earth is a leaf thereof; even as the lotus leaf here lies spread the waters". The lotus leaf also symbolizes the womb (*ŚB.* VII. 4.1.7), the source of fertility. In the *TS.* 5.1.4.2 the lotus leaf is called the waters. The idea of creation from the waters is evident from the myth which speaks that from the primeval waters appeared Prajāpati on a lotus-leaf. From the myth probably originated the idea that Brahman created a Brahmā on a lotus-leaf (*GB.* I. 1.16).

Though associated with many gods and goddesses lotus flower and lotus lakes are favourite resorts of Śrī-Lakshmi. According to the *Vāyu P.* XXXVII.

1-8, between the Sitāvana and Kumuda there exists a huge lake filled with crystal clear water, aquatic birds and fragrant lotus flowers inhabited by Nāgas, Devas, Dānavas and Gandharvas. Amidst the clusters of lotus flowers there is a Great Lotus (*mahāpadma*) in which resided Śrī-Lakshmi.

We have already pointed out the close resemblance between the iconographical and functional concepts of Prithivī and Śrī. In the *Matsya P.*⁴² however, Prithivī is conceived as a gigantic golden lotus symbolizing the cosmos. It is emphasized that from this golden lotus created by Nārāyaṇa from the depth of the ocean was born Brahmā and that the lotus and the earth are synonymous. "Padmā ('born of lotus', Śrī-Lakshmi) is the same as Rasā or Prithivī and the large pericarp of the lotus stands for mountains".

It is evident from the ancient texts that the "lotus was primarily understood to represent the Waters; secondarily also, in a much as the flower and still more obviously the leaf rest on the waters, the earth—for the earth is conceived of as resting on the back of the waters, and supported by the waters, which extend on either side of it."⁴³

Coomaraswamy further explains that the lotus as the symbol of the waters and therefore, life primarily expresses the generative principle of the waters, the lotus standing for purity is a much later development. "These meanings and values do not at all exclude that of the implication of birth in the Waters, conspicuous in the case of Śrī-Lakṣmī, who is the earliest divinity to be constantly represented with *padma-pīṭha* or *padmāsana*, though in the case of other deities not so directly born from the waters, the idea of support seems to be indicated rather than that of "divine birth," which has hitherto been the usual interpretation; on the other hand, the more edifying symbolism of purity, drawn from the fact that the lotus leaf is not wetted by the water that it rests on, nor is the flower soiled by the mud from which it springs, belong to a later cycle of ideas, and only come in with the sectarian, Buddhist and devotional developments."⁴⁴

Bosch has analysed further the cosmogonic significance of the lotus with which is intimately connected the Tree of Life. To quote him, "In the later cosmogonic legends the germ of life has three aspects: the grain of seed from which springs the tree of life; a being belonging to the animal kingdom (a cosmic egg, a tortoise); and the navel of a deity. Frequently a combination of these three motifs is to be found."⁴⁵

The nature of the plant rising from the germ at the beginning of the creation is not known from the early Vedic sources. But according to the *Purāṇas* it is a lotus growing from the navel of Viṣṇu which gave birth to Brahmā.

⁴² V. S. Agrawala, *Matsya Purāṇa-A Study*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 268.

⁴³ Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Part II, pp. 56-57.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴⁵ F. D. K. Bosch, *The Golden Germ*, Holland, 1960, p. 55.

Bosch has quoted several Buddhist legends of cosmic nature in which lotus appears as the Tree of Life.⁴⁶

Bosch sums up his views on the lotus as the symbol of life thus "If to the results thus obtained we assign their proper place in the Indian conception of the world, conceived as a lotus with cosmic dimensions, in other words if in our imagination we reconstruct the image of these things as it was conceived by the Indian and expressed in his art, then Hiranagarbha, the germ and womb of all that lives, assumes the shape of the root of the cosmic lotus the padmamūla, and it is filled with the golden elixir of life that unites the essence of the two primordial principles Agni and Soma."⁴⁷

"From this root the sap is sent forth in all directions, it rises through the central stem, spreads through the side-shoots, flows out through the nodes, penetrates into the plant's branches, leaves, flowers and fruits and wherever it appears it engenders Life, the Life that animates animals and men, demons and gods, that makes the fields fertile and the cattle thrive, pours riches and wealth over the earth, just as we see it so vividly pictured on the Bharhut and Sanchi reliefs."⁴⁷

THE PALM, PIPAL AND BANYAN TREES

Besides the lotus and *bel* trees, Śrī, as evinced by some carved stone discs was also associated with the palm, *pipal* and banyan trees and the honey-suckle. In a carved stone disc from Taxila, there appears "a tree with three prongs for branches each one of which is crowned by a blossom below which are shown three drooping leaves, an arrangement suggestive of *āsoka* flower."⁴⁸

The *pipal* and banyan trees from very early time were regarded as the abode of Yakshas and Yakshinis and a host of spirits. In the *RV.* I. 164.20 the tree on which two birds sat eating the *pipal* berries are identified as Soma and Agni; the same also represent the nocturnal sky and the two birds the lunar phases and the stars. The *AV.* mentions it as the seat of the gods, in the sky in the company of Soma, the plant of immortality and its equivalent *kushtha*. The *āśvattha* is also connected with the Aśvins, the Maruts, Indra, Gandharvas and Suparnas. The *āśvattha* and *nyagrodha* are particularly associated with the life of Buddha. There is hardly any doubt that these two trees held in veneration by the people were accepted in Buddhism as a matter of compromise and syncretism.⁴⁹

The most important tree associated with Śrī on the carved discs is the palm tree, though it is remarkable that in ancient literature *bilva* and not the palm is Śrī's favourite tree. How in the carved discs the *bilva* was replaced

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

⁴⁸ Pramod Chandra, 'The Cult of Śrī Lakshmi and four carved discs in Bharat Kala Bhavan', *Chhavi-Golden Jubilee Volume*, Banaras, 1972, p. 140.

⁴⁹ O. Vernet, *Le Culte de L'arbre*, Paris, 1954, pp. 26-28.

by the palm is not known but the possibility of the Western Asiatic influence could not be ruled out. That the palm motif must have entered India at a fairly early period is supported by the fact that the palmate became a recognized motif in early Indian art.

Some interesting information is available from literature about the palm tree. The *Vāyu P.* XXXVII. 23-25, mentions that in northern regions there existed a palm tree forest (*tālavana*) inhabited by Indra's elephant Airāvata. This Airāvata according to the *MB.* V. 97.7 for the welfare of mankind draws water, releases it on the clouds and after that Indra causes rain. In other words Airāvata symbolizes the rain clouds and the palm-forest the sky. If this explanation is accepted then the presence of the palm tree and also the elephant only signify rains, a symbol of fertility with which Śrī is so closely associated.

In the Gupta period, however, the palm tree seems to have become a recognized symbol or cognizance. Thus according to the *Vishṇudharmottara* III. 54. 8-9, the *tāla* represents Achyuta, Yama and the Sun.

In early Indian art the palm is represented in a realistic and decorative manner. For at Bharhut palm trees appear within the compound of a pillared structure with a man and woman looking out of the Chaitya windows.⁴⁰ It is difficult to say whether the structure served the purpose of a temple or not. We will see later on that the palm tree is more or less realistically treated on the carved discs of the Mauryan period.

In the Gupta art, however, the palmate is treated decoratively and becomes a part of the decorative scheme of the door-way of the Gupta temple architecture. In this connection one is reminded of the following dictum laid down by the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, LVI. 15, for the decoration the temple doorway in at least the sixth century A.D.

*Śeṣham māṅgalya-vihagaiḥ Śrī-vrikṣaiḥ svastikatrighatāiḥ mithunaiḥ,
patravallibhiḥ pramathaischopasobhayet.*

The śloka may be translated as follows:

"The rest (of the door-way) is decorated with auspicious birds (*māṅgalya-vihagaiḥ*), palm trees (*Śrīvrikṣaiḥ*), svastikas, *pūrṇaghaṭas*, couples (*mithunaiḥ*), creepers, and Pramathas (Śiva's *gaṇas*)..."

In this couplet *Śrīvrikṣa* has been translated by some as the *bilva* tree following Śrī's association with the *bilva* as pointed out earlier, but on the evidence of the Gupta architectural motif employed in temple doorways,

⁴⁰ B. M. Barua, *Bharhut*, Book III, Calcutta, 1931, Pl. XLIII, 40.

it is certain that by the *Śrīvikṣha* of the *Bṛihat Saṃhitā* only the palm tree is meant.

For instance the outer frame of the doorway of the early sixth century Vishnu temple at Deogarh is decorated with a series of highly stylized piled up palmates with rosettes and clusters representing flowers or fruits.⁵¹ By no stretch of imagination they could be *dhatūrā* leaves as suggested by Vats.⁵² The *pūrṇaghata*, the *mithunas*, the creepers also appear there as mentioned by the *Bṛihat Saṃhitā*.

The Deogarh temple doorway is not the solitary example in which the palmate has been used as a decorative motif. The outer side of a door joint from Bhumara (5th century) consists of palmates clasped by a floral plaque.⁵³ There is a fragment of a surround from Nagod (5th century A.D.) in the Allahabad Museum⁵⁴ which shows how *Śrīvikṣha* is connected with a Nadi Devatā. "In the cross-set formed by a molding, consisting of superimposed palmates interspersed with *aśoka* blossoms, is a *Vikṣa-devatā* standing on the back of a marine creature with a floriated tail. He raises his torso as though to support the weight of the Goddess above. Her right hand is raised to touch the branch of an *aśoka* tree. Iconographically the image belongs to a stage when the river Goddesses—generally depicted on the top portion of a doorway, are indistinguishable from the woman-and-tree motif. They are most often shown standing on a *makara* or turtle, the representation of a half human figure being most unusual."

It seems that like the Besnagar pillar capital depicting the eight *nidhis* raised in honour of Śrī or Kubera the palm-leaf pillar capitals were also raised possibly in honour of Śrī who was associated with the palm-tree. Two palm-leaf pillar capitals, one from Vidisha and the other from Padmāvati have been found—the Vidisha capital being the earlier of the two.⁵⁵ Dvivedi following K.P. Jayaswal takes the palm-capitals as the symbol of the Nāgas, but there is every likelihood they represented *Śrī vikṣha* and perhaps formed a part of the pillars raised in front of the temples of Śrī-Lakṣmi. It may, however, also be noted that Balarāma's standard was known as *tāladhvaja*.

IV

THE MAKARA

The appearance of *gharial* or crocodile in Indian art is of very ancient origin. It appears frequently on the amulets of the Indus Valley Culture. Here it is represented with a fish between its jaws and as observed by Mackay "may have been regarded as an emblem of a river-god. As this reptile is associated

⁵¹ M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, MASI, No. 70, 1952, Pls. VIII-IX.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵³ Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Bombay, 1971, Pl. LII, fig. 123.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXI, fig. 207, p. 92.

⁵⁵ Harthar Niwas Dvivedi, *Gwalior rājamen prāchīna mūrti kalā*, Gwalior, n.d. p. 20, figs. 19-20.

with the sacred animals, it is safe to assume that it, too, was considered sacred, but the deity with whom it may have been associated was perhaps not regarded with special awe.⁵⁶ In the historical period, however, as we shall see later on, the *makara* or crocodile becomes the symbol of the waters and the symbol of the river goddess Gaṅgā, certain Yakshas, Śrī-Lakshmi and Varuṇa who are all associated with the waters.

The Water Cosmology has produced a number of symbols associated with the waters. The most important being the lotus and the *makara* which have played an important part in the evolution of Indian art. As observed by Bosch, "waters for a long time retain their original character of a primeval element, obscure, chaotic, unimaginable as a definite shape or person. 'Primitive man', Rönnow rightly observes, 'does not visualize a constant personification of water. This is sacred and filled with *mana*, in its own right. Occasionally, now one now another kind of animal or suchlike may appear as representing the innate power of the waters and so by and by a symbol appears that gains in permanence. As a rule it is the aquatic animals like fishes, dolphins, crocodiles, water snakes and so on which incorporate and represent these primitive water demons.'⁵⁷

Ocean, the abode of Varuṇa, is supposed to be the habitat of the *makara*, (*sāgara makarālaya*, MB. IX. 46.8) and naturally, therefore, it stood as a symbol of the waters. The *Vishṇudharmottara*, III. 54.9 equates the *makara* with Varuṇa and the ocean. According to the MB. V. 97.8 the ocean was inhabited by aquatic animals of various shapes which lived drinking the moonlight (*soma-prabhā*) which is supposed to be endowed with the life-giving property. We have already referred to the relation of the *makara* with Kubera and Śrī as one of the eight *nidhis*. In the MB. III. 281.7, however, Śrī is represented as holding the *makara* in her hand. It is the symbol of Kāmadeva and Rukmiṇī being the mother of Kāmadeva in Dvāpara also bore this symbol. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, III. 54.8, the *makara* is a symbol of Pradyumna. In the Gupta period according to the *Pādatāṭītakam* there was a temple of Kāmadeva (*Kāmadevāyatana*) at Ujjayinī, which had a pillar with the *makara* capital (*makara-yashṭī*) which was circumambulated by courtesans when they visited the temple for worship.⁵⁸

Pradyumna-Kāmadeva who is identified with Varuṇa is Makaradhvaja. This equation of the Kāmadeva with the *makara* is appropriate as the *makara* represents the essence of the waters (*rasa* its various equivalents, sap, semen, Water of Life, etc.) and virility (*vīrya*). Therefore, the association of the *makara* with Kāmadeva or any other deity of fertility is quite appropriate.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ E. Mackay, *Early Indian Civilization*, London, 1948, p. 65.

⁵⁷ Bosch, *op. cit.*, p. 52. He quotes Rönnow, *Trita-Āptya, Eine Vedische Gottheit* (1927), p. 6.

⁵⁸ Moti Chandra and V. S. Agrawala, *Śrīrāgāra-hōta (Chaturbhūjī, Hindi)*, Varanasi, 1959, p. 170.

⁵⁹ Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Part II, p. 55.

That such *makara-yashti* existed much earlier than the Gupta period is proved by two *makara* capitals, one from Vidiśā (Besnagar)⁶⁰ and another from Kauśāmbī (Allahabad Museum)⁶¹ both datable to the second century B.C. It is suggested that the *makara* probably crowned a votive column before a temple or site sacred to Pradyumna one of the Pañchaviṣṇis. But the *makara* was not only the cognizance of Pradyumna-Kāmadeva and Varuṇa. In some ancient carved discs datable to the Maurya period depicting the Mother goddess probably Śrī, the *makara* or crocodile appears. The fragment of a carved disc in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan the goddess is associated with two monkey-like animals with a crocodile or lizard-like creature between them. In another fragment from Kosam in the same Museum in one band appear crocodiles and in the second band the repeat figure of the Mother goddess between the three pronged trees.⁶²

According to Banerjea the association of crocodiles or alligators we prefer to call them with the Mother goddess remind us of the developed Śakti cult in India in which the goddess is associated with a lizard (*godhā*) perhaps confused with the *makara*.

The *makara* in early Indian sculpture is also associated with Yakshīs ✓ whose close association with Śrī-Lakshmi is obvious, and the river goddesses. The Yakshī Sudassanā represented at Bharhut proves that the type presages the Gaṅgā of the later iconography. She is supported by the *makara*.⁶³ Besides her association with the *makara*, the name Sudassana or 'Beautiful' also recalls to mind Śrī-Lakshmi whose resplendent beauty is extolled in literature. The representation at Amaravati of a goddess extracting a pearl from the open mouth of the *makara* may be Śrī-Lakshmi as the *makara* was one of her *nidhis*.⁶⁴ As remarked by Coomaraswamy, "From Bhartṛihari's *Nītiśāstaka*, 4, it is evident that there existed some legendary *makara* with pearls and that to extract pearls from a *makara*'s jaw was considered a proverbial example of courage."⁶⁵

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Mother goddesses Śrī and Pṛithivī are closely associated with animals and birds. As a matter of fact a large number of birds and animals are represented on the carved discs found from Murtaziganj, a locality in Patna

⁶⁰ A.S.L.A.R., 1913-14, pp. 188-191; J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 104.

⁶¹ Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, pp. 56-57.

⁶² J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 171.

⁶³ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris, 1956, p. 63, Pl. XVIII, fig. 46.

⁶⁴ Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Part II, Pl. 12, fig. 4.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

city.⁶⁶ The following animals are represented: the lion, winged lion, elephant, horse, antelope, stag, deer, ram, rhinoceros, bull, boar, dog, goat and cat. Among the birds the following appear: the goose, peacock, parrot, crane, heron, cock and owl. Of the animals many such as the lion, horse, bull and elephant have symbolic significance and these have been used as common symbols both in Buddhist and Hindu religions and have been apparently borrowed from the common stock of Indian symbols. The other animals like the goat, the deer and rhinoceros had also totemic and sacerdotal values. Some birds also find place in Indian symbology. For instance the goose is associated with the waters and the peacock with Skanda. Apparently these animals and birds in some remote past of which history has no record became primarily associated with the power of nature and secondarily, with the deities who symbolized those powers of nature. Thus was born the language of symbols, which through the media of outward semblances expressed the higher meanings attached to those concepts.

It is notable that the four animals, namely, the elephant, the horse, the bull and the lion carved on the Mother goddess discs also appear on the Aśokan pillar capital at Sarnath. The animals here have been interpreted specifically as Buddhist symbols; the elephant standing for his conception, the bull standing for the Zodiacal sign Taurus under which he was born, the horse for the Great Departure and the lion for Śākya Siṃha, an epithet of the Buddha. But on close examination it is evident that there is nothing specifically Buddhist about them. They belong to the common stock of Indian symbols from which the Hindus, Jains and Buddhists drew interpreting them in their own way. For instance, at the time of Rāma's coronation (*Rām.* II. 14. 26-30) the elephant exuding ichor (*māttavāraṇa*), white humped bull (*kakudmānpāṇḍuravṛsha*), the four-fanged lion (*chaturdamshtrā keśari*) and the powerful horse of superior breed (*mahābala hari-śreṣṭhā*) appear as auspicious animals, though the lion is omitted from the critical edition of the *Rām.* In the Jātaka No. 427, Hastipura in the east, Aśvapura in the south and Siṃhapura in the west are mentioned. In Buddhist literature the auspiciousness of the four animals is emphasized. The *Divyāvadāna* (ed. by Cowell, p. 451) mentions that the four auspicious animals, namely, the *gaja*, *vṛṣabha*, *aśva* and *siṃha* appeared in procession before the Buddha. These animals were associated with some rivers as well. Yuan Chwang mentions a tradition about the Mount Meru from whose eastern side flows the Gaṅgā from the silver mouth; from the south through the elephant mouth flows the Sindhu; from the west through the horse mouth flows the Oxus, and from the north side through the crystal mouth flows the Sitā.⁶⁷ It is also a well known fact that the Gaṅgā is supposed to flow from Gomukha (bull or cow mouth) in the Gangotri glaciers.

⁶⁶ S. A. Shere, "Stone discs found at Murtaziganj," *J.B.R.S.*, XXXVII, Parts 3-4, 1951, pp. 178-190, Pls. I-IX.

⁶⁷ V. S. Agrawala, *Chakradhvaja*, Varanasi, 1964, pp. 35-36.

In the ancient bas-reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi as well as the elephant, the horse, the bull and the lion as a part of the architectural ensemble are used symbolically. On the fragment of a *torana* architrave from Kauśāmbi in the Allahabad Museum datable to the first century B.C. appears Gaja-Lakshmi, her nudity emphasized, though she wears a diaphanous lower garment. To the right of the figure was an elephant of which only the forehead and trunk now survive; and to the left is a bull with lyre-shaped horns.⁶⁸ It is thus apparent that even in the first century B.C. at least two animal symbols, namely, the elephant and the bull were associated with Śrī-Lakshmi and therefore, there is nothing to support the view that these animals have anything specifically Buddhist about them.

THE ELEPHANT

The elephant appears on the amulets and seals in the Indus Valley Culture. It is one of the animals surrounding the so-called Paśupati. It is not known whether any special symbolical significance attached to it at such early times though it is possible that it was equated as a sacred animal.

Elephant, the animal par excellence of India, was useful in many ways in ancient times. It was not only a favourite animal of the royalty who used it for riding and royal processions but it also served as a terrific war machine whose presence struck terror into the heart of the enemy. It also provided ivory which was an important article of commerce. But in spite of its utilitarian value the elephant, in very early time had assumed certain symbolical significance. In the *RV.* IV. 16.14, Indra assimilated to the sun, is compared to an elephant (and lion) and the *AV.* III. 22.1, speaks of the elephant glory that came out of Aditi's body.⁶⁹ As a matter of fact, as observed by Coomaraswamy, "In all the systems, the Four Great Kings have space elephants (*dig-gajas*) as their vehicles, and possibly these elephants themselves were the original guardians of the quarters; in any case, they are the source of the winds, which they blow through their trunks, and in the *abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakshmi two or four of them pour down the rains from the inverted cask or jar of the clouds, which vessel in *RV.*, V, 85, 3, 4, is specifically Varuṇa's".⁷⁰

The conception of Airāvata as a vehicle of Indra is of later origin, though in the *MB.* V. 97.7 it is already mentioned that Airāvata is synonymous with the rain clouds. As observed by Coomaraswamy it is quite possible that the elephant like the horse was an ancient symbolic element in the Water Cosmology as we find cloud-elephant and water-elephant associated with Śrī-Lakshmi, with Yakshas and Yakshis as vehicles and associated in the plant style with lotus vegetation.

⁶⁸ Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 58, fig. 77.

⁶⁹ A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Conqueror's life in Jain Painting", *J.I.S.O.A.*, VIII, No. 2, 1935, p. 133.

⁷⁰ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Part II, p. 32.

Zimmer has discussed at some length the symbolical significance of the elephant. Discussing the etymology of Airāvata he derives the name from the female Irāvati which is also the name of the river Ravi. *Irā*, furthermore, means water, any drinkable fluid, milk, refreshment, the liquid contained in the cosmic Milky Ocean.⁷¹ Thus Irāvati would stand as an element of the Water Cosmology. She is the daughter of Dakṣha, partially related to Brahman and she is also related to Kaśyapa the Old Tortoise Man and as such she is the mother of all vegetable life. Airāvata is also related as pointed out by Zimmer to the life-fluid of the cosmos. Thus it is evident that Airāvata designates the rainbow and a certain type of lightning, the two conspicuous luminous manifestations of thunderstorm and rain.

Abhramū, the consort of Airāvata, indicates the magical power of producing clouds, as *mu* means "to fashion" and *abhra* means "cloud" and that has been interpreted by Zimmer as beneficent monsoon. The elephant generally stood as a symbol for royalty, but he is of the opinion that elephants were kept by the king to attract its celestial relative, the clouds, the heavenly elephants.

Zimmer has quoted a ceremony from the *Hastyāyurveda*, IV. 22 which stresses the fertility aspect of a white elephant often associated with Śrī-Lakṣmī. On that festival day men dressed as women and exchanging bawdy jokes followed the elephant painted white. This female attire symbolized the female principle and the licentious language that dominated sexual energy. Calamity was bound to overtake their people and their king who did not worship the elephant. "Contrariwise, if due worship is paid to the elephant, they will thrive and prosper together with their wives and sons, the country, the army, and the elephants. Crops will sprout in due time; Indra, the rain god, will send rain in due time; there will be no plague, no drought."⁷²

Zimmer summarizes the result about elephant symbolism as follows:⁷³ "Thus the worship of the white elephant, as a divinity not to be disregarded, bestows on man all those earthly blessings which the goddess Lotus, Śrī-Lakṣmī, Fortune and Prosperity, the Mother Earth, fertile and abundant with water and riches, has in store. The symbolic character and significance of the animal is clearly announced in the two appellations that are used to designate it when it is being honored as a divinity; it is called Śrī-gaṇa, "The Elephant of Śrī," and Megha, "Cloud". The elephant, that is to say, is a rain cloud walking on the earth. By its magic presence it conjures the winged fellow clouds of the atmosphere to approach. When the earthly elephant cloud is duly worshipped, its celestial relatives feel gratified and are moved to show forth their gratitude by favouring the country with abundant rain."

⁷¹ H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Washington, 1962, p. 104.

⁷² Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-09.

THE HORSE

The horse is a favourite animal of the Indo-Aryans. The use of the horse not only speeded up the means of transportation, the cavalry began to play an important part in warfare. The *aśvamedha* or Horse Sacrifice symbolized universal sovereignty and the horse became a symbol of power and fertility. The horse is also connected with Vedic gods specially Vishnu. It is on the one hand connected with vegetation and the nether world and on the other hand related or identified with the sun symbolizing fecundity and also fire. In Vedic mythology besides the celestial horses which drew the chariot of the gods, various individual names of the horses occur in the *Vedas*. They are noted for their swiftness and were considered as victorious.⁷⁴

In the *Śrī-Sūkta*, as we have pointed out, the horse is associated with Śrī. In the *MB.* I. 60.50 the sky-roving horses are said to be the mind-born sons of Lakshmi (*tasyāstu mānasā putrāsturagāḥ vyomachārīṇaḥ*). It is also significant to note that the horse is also connected with the Water Cosmology as from the Churning of the Ocean there appeared the white horse Uchchaiṣravas (*MB.* I, 57.38). This connection of the horse with the waters is not confined to the *MB.* only as the *ŚB.* V. 1. 4.6 addresses the horses to wax by means of the ambrosia within the waters. It was also sacrificed for Varuṇa the lord of the waters (*ŚB.* VI. 2.1.5). It is also designated as a thunderbolt, thus indicating its association with the clouds. The *ŚB.* X. 6.4.1 is emphatic about the origin of the horse from the sea "The sea induced its kindred, the sea its birth-place."

THE BULL

Worship of the bull goes back to very great antiquity. The bull appears in Egyptian, Babylonian, Iranian civilizations as a sacred animal whose sacrifice pleased the gods. In the Indus Valley civilization the bull is engraved on the seals and a large number of terracotta figurines of the bull have been found. There is hardly any doubt that the bull was a sacred animal in the Indus Valley culture. "Two amulets made in the same mould show that the . . . urus,—bull—was carried in a religious procession, for on these amulets a man is seen quite clearly to be carrying the figure of this animal on a stand. Another man behind the first bears the cult object always associated with the beast, while a third carries another stand and object of some kind, perhaps a pennon".⁷⁵ "Another amulet from the same city [Harappa] shows the cult object invariably associated with the urus—bull, with beside it a figure which may be that of a woman dancing; if this interpretation be correct, the dance must certainly be a ritual one."⁷⁶

⁷⁴ A. A. Macdonell, *The Vedic Mythology* (reprint), Varanasi, 1963, pp. 148-150.

⁷⁵ Mackay, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

The bull in Vedic and post-Vedic periods and even earlier was extensively, used as a favourite symbol. In the *Vedas* it symbolized Indra (*ŚB.* II, 5. 3.18), Agni and Rudra. In later literature it became the vehicle of Śiva or the bull itself being his theriomorphic representation. The bull in ancient literature symbolized strength and virility. Closely connected with it, it also symbolized the rain clouds. As a matter of fact in medieval *Kalpasūtra* paintings the sky-bulls are shedding rain from their horns to bathe Mahāvira held in Indra's lap. As we have shown above it appears as one of the animals on Aśoka's pillar capital at Sarnath. Its association with Śrī-Lakṣmī again emphasizes its character as a symbol of fertility and of the cattle with which Śrī was intimately associated. The symbolism of the bull is not specifically Vedic and the appearance of the terracotta bull figurines from many a chalcolithic sites where they seem to have had some relationship with the Mother goddess cult.

THE LION

The lion has played a conspicuous part in Indian art and literature. The *siṃha* or lion appears in the *Rig Veda* and later on. He wanders and lives in the hills and is clearly the 'dread wild beast that slays,' to which Rudra is compared. Agni who has entered the waters is compared to a lion.⁷⁷ It is said to have flowed from Indra's nose produced by Soma (*ŚB.* V. 5. 4.10). Symbolically speaking the lion stands for power and royalty. It is also the vehicle of Ambikā, Umā-Pārvatī and Durgā and perhaps symbolizes the origin of these goddesses in mountainous regions inhabited by lions; it also emphasizes the ferocious aspect of the goddess. Its appearance in a stylized form in early bas-reliefs is decorative. The leogryph, the fish-tailed lion and winged lion appear in early Indian art. It may be noted that the *Rāmāyāṇa*. IV. 42.6 actually mentions winged lions (*siṃhāḥ pakṣhagamāḥ*). Its comparison with the submarine fire shows its association with the waters, a fact supported by the fish-tailed lion in early Indian art.

THE RHINOCEROS

As we have pointed out above the rhinoceros is one of the animals accompanying the Mother goddess on one of the Murtaziganj carved stone discs already referred to. A galloping rhinoceros appears on a seal from Bhitā in the Allahabad Museum datable to the third century B.C.⁷⁸

The rhinoceros under the name *khadga* appears in the *Mait. S.* and the *VS.* In the *ŚŚS* a rhinoceros hide is mentioned as the covering of a chariot.⁷⁹ The animal seems to have been sacred to the manes. It is mentioned in the *Vishṇu P.* III. 16.3, that the rhinoceros flesh along with the *kālasāka* and

⁷⁷ *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 448.

⁷⁸ Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 36, Pl. II. 3.

⁷⁹ *Vedic Index*, I. p. 213.

honey gave satisfaction to the manes. The *Manu S.* III. 272, enjoins that the flesh of the rhinoceros is lawful flesh which could be partaken even by the *munis*. According to the *PGS.* (*śrāddha*, Sū. VIII) rhinoceros flesh was to be eaten at the time of the *śrāddha*. According to the *GGS.* VII. 2, the rhinoceros flesh gave perfect satisfaction. It is also worthy to note that till recently on a *śrāddha* day, a Hindu who could afford a cup carved out from a rhinoceros horn, poured the libation of water and milk to please the manes.

Besides the use of its flesh for *śrāddha*, the rhinoceros horn also served as cornucopia which was used for lustrating a king at some special ceremony. It is said in the *MB.* VIII. 6. 37, that Duryodhana while appointing Karna to the titles of the Commander-in-Chief lustrated him with the sacred water filled in the hollowed tusk of an elephant, and the horn of a rhinoceros and a bull. Here the elephant tusk and bull horn filled with water perhaps symbolize the purifying and strength-giving property of the waters. Some such significance also seem to have been attached to the rhinoceros horn.

What connection the animal had with Śrī-Lakshmi it is difficult to say, but it is possible that in pre-Vedic times it had gained its sacred and symbolic character. The famous seal from Mohenjodaro depicting Paśupati, one of the animals surrounding him is a rhinoceros, the other being two deer, or antelopes, an elephant, a tiger and a buffalo.⁸⁰ It was one of the animals probably worshipped.⁸¹ The rhinoceros was also a favourite subject of the Harappan modeller.⁸²

In the Gupta period the rhinoceros appears on the unique Rhinoceros-slayer type of a gold coin of Kumāragupta I (c. 414-455 A.D.). In this type the king is shown hunting the animal from horseback. The Sanskrit legend reads: "*Bhartā khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupta jayatyānīsam*", 'Ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta, who is protector by the sword (*khaḍgatrātā*) as well as protector from rhinoceroses (*khaḍgebhyātrātā*)'. On the reverse the river goddess Gaṅgā holding a lotus is standing on a crocodile. Behind the goddess is standing a female *chhatra*-bearer. The reverse legend reads '*Śrī Mahendra khaḍgaḥ*', 'The rhinoceros (killed by) Mahendra'.⁸³ It is, however, difficult to say whether the representation of the river goddess Gaṅgā whose consanguinity with Śrī-Lakshmi is well known was in some way related symbolically with the rhinoceros.

THE DEER OR ANTELOPE

The deer or antelope had its symbolic significance going much earlier

⁸⁰ E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilizations*, London, 1948, p. 56.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁸³ A. S. Atlekar, *The Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1954, pp. Cvii-cviii, Pl. XXX. 5-8.

than the Vedic period. It appears on the so-called Paśupati seal from Mohenjodaro, copper amulets,⁸⁴ represented as tiny figurines,⁸⁵ and thin heads forming the ends of bronze combs⁸⁶ and it also appears as a decorative pattern on a jar.⁸⁷ The horn of Sambur deer was probably powdered up and used as a medicine.⁸⁸ The medicinal value of antelope horn is emphasized in the *AV*. Amulets were also made from the antelope horn and it was also a symbol of fertility. The antelope skin represented day and night and holy power. It is said that its union with Yajña yielded a good harvest. In some ancient past the antelope horn was used as a hoe for tillage.⁸⁹

The sacred character of the antelope is further emphasized in a legend in the *ŚB*. I. 1.4.1. It is said that once upon a time the Sacrifice escaping the gods assumed the form of a black buck and roamed alone. The gods having found it stripped it of its skin and brought it away with them. Taking into consideration the sacred nature of the antelope in Vedic literature soon it became a symbol of Āryāvarta. *Manu*, II. 22-23, observes: "That which lies between these two mountains (the Himālaya and the Vindhya), from the western ocean, the wise know as Āryāvarta (the land of the Āryas), where the black antelope naturally roams about, that should be known as the land suitable for sacrifice; what beyond is the country of the Mlechchhas".

THE GOAT

The goat and its horns are considered as a symbol of fertility. In the Harappan culture the gods wear the horns of a goat or a bull. A seal amulet represents a goddess with the horns of a goat.

At Harappa the funerary significance of the goat is specially marked. In one of the jars decorated with horned peacocks and bulls appears a goat of enormous proportion, his horns marked by eight trident-like devices. Vats suggests that the goat was a sort of 'path-finder' and a deified intermediary for leading the soul to the 'Abode of Bliss' after it had passed through the intermediate Hades.⁹⁰ The connection of the goat with funeral customs is further supported by the fact that in one of the graves a small sheep or goat was intentionally sacrificed and its body cut to pieces.⁹¹

In Vedic and later literature the goat is called as *basta*, *chhāga* and *aja*.

⁸⁴ Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁸⁹ Moti Chandra, "Nidhīrīṅga (Cornucopia): A study in symbolism, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 9, 1964-66, pp. 4 ff.

⁹⁰ M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1940, p. 208.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

The goat as a representative of Pūshan plays an important part in the ritual of burial.⁸² The fertility aspect of the goat and sheep is emphasized in the *ŚB.* II. 5.3.18 where it says that the goat and sheep are Prajāpati-like as during the year they give birth to two or three young ones thrice. The goat because of its fertility is closely associated with the Mother goddess. The *Bṛihat Samhitā*, LXV. 9, mentions that the goats Kuṭṭaka, Kuṭila, Jatila and Vāmana are the sons of Śrī, they do not live with Misfortune (Alakshmi). The association of the goat with Śrī is naturally due to the fertility of the former. The sacrifice of goat to Durgā and Kālī and other goddesses is a very ancient practice. The idea behind this is not only to propitiate the goddess by an animal dear to her but increase the fertility of the land, the people and cattle by a sort of sympathetic magic as the goat symbolized fertility.

THE GOOSE

The goose or *hansa* often wrongly translated as the swan is perhaps the most popular bird of Indian literature and art. Among the domestic birds and animals kept at the court of Indian kings the goose took a prominent place. Indian literature endows the *hansa* with the moral virtues of the highest order. In Vedic literature the geese are associated with the Aśvins. In one of the hymns of the *AV.* VIII. 7.24, the geese are supposed to have a special knowledge of healing herbs. The *hansa* is credited with the power of separating Soma from water (later on milk from water) in the *Yajurveda*. It is mentioned as one of the victims at the Aśvamedha.⁸³ It is not a sacred bird but is closely associated with the gods and the Mother goddesses. In the *HV.* Indra addresses the geese as divine birds and scions of Kaśyapa.⁸⁴ Brahmā is sometimes associated with the goose; it is also the vehicle of the goddess Sarasvatī. It is mentioned in the *MB.* III. 83.29 that one who had taken his bath worshipped the god and offered water to the manes on the bank of the river Veṇṇā was after death destined to be borne to heaven on an aerial car flown to heaven by a goose and a peacock.

Gāṅgā, the divine mother of Bhishma, learning the fate of her son deputed to him *rishis* in the form of geese. It is remarkable to note in this connection that in the ruined Gupta temple at Dah Parbatiya near Tezpur in Assam at the foot of the left door jamb stands Yamunā and at the foot of the right door jamb stands Gāṅgā.⁸⁵ As remarked by Vogel⁸⁶ an unusual feature in the representations of the river goddesses is that there appear a couple of flying geese beside their haloed heads. The appearance of geese on a typical Gupta temple door-jamb reminds us of the dictum of the *Bṛihat Samhitā*, LVI. 15, which lays down that the door-jambs, besides other decorative patterns, should

⁸² *Vedic Index*, Vol. 1, p. 22. See *aja*.

⁸³ *Vedic Index*, II, 498.

⁸⁴ J. Ph. Vogel, *The goose in Indian literature and art*, Leiden, 1962, p. 13.

⁸⁵ *A.S.I. Annual Report*, 1924-1925, pp. 98-99, Pl. XXXII, a-b.

⁸⁶ Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

be decorated with auspicious birds (*māṅgalyavihaḡaiḡ*) which no doubt stand for the geese.

In early Indian sculpture the geese appear on the cylindrical abacii of three Aśokan pillars. In the Lauriya-Nandangarh pillar abacus the geese are shown in the act of picking their food. In the Sanchi pillar the abacus is adorned with four honeysuckle designs separated from the others by pairs of geese. The orther pillar capital from Rampurwa has its abacus decorated with a row of geese twelve in number. The geese also appear on the Vajrāsana at Bodh Gaya. Here the sides are decorated with the figures of geese alternating with palmettes.⁸⁷ At Bharhut and Sanchi the geese are closely connected with the Plant Style. The lotus lakes are shown invariably associated with the geese. In the Begram ivories⁸⁸ the geese appear both as a domestic bird and also in a wild state serving as a decorative ornament.

It is evident both from literary and art sources that geese were intimately associated with the waters. They separated the Soma from water; their divinity was acknowledged by Indra and they were connected with the river goddesses Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Their association with the healing herbs is recognized and therefore, their relation with the Plant Style is not to be wondered at.

THE PEACOCK

The peacock is a sacred bird regarded as the vehicle of Skanda. In historical period the Yaudheyas in eastern Panjab had a special regard for it. As a matter of fact at first Skanda-Karttikeya is called holding a peacock standard (*barhiketu*, *Bṛh. Sam.* LVII. 41) and in this form it appears on the coins of Huvishka representing Mahāsena, Skanda, Kumāra and Viśākha. In the Gupta period the peacock becomes Skanda's recognized vehicle. The *MB.* IX. 45-46, however, observes that a cock and a peacock were presented to Karttikeya by Garuḡa. It is also significant to note that besides the peacock and cock which became his symbols, Lakshmi also got herself attached to Mahāsena by heading his army (*MB.* IX. 45-57).

The peacock appears in Indian art both as a decorative and a symbolical motif. From Harappa comes⁸⁹ a pot which is decorated at the shoulder with three flying peacocks alternating with stars (Vats, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXII, 2). "Placed horizontally in the body of each peacock is a theriomorphic figure probably representing the *sūkshmaśarīra* or the ethereal body of the dead being carried to heaven. From this and also from the frequency of the peacock motif often with horns on other burial pots it is evident that the peacock was regarded with peculiar sanctity in connection with the cult of the dead."

⁸⁷ Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-57.

⁸⁸ J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1954, Figs. 22, 32, 208, etc.

⁸⁹ M. S. Vats, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

The peacock, as pointed out earlier appears on the carved discs of the Mauryan period as one of the birds associated with the Mother goddess.¹⁰⁰ It appears frequently at Sanchi and on the Lalabhat pillar already referred to where it appears in the context of Śrī-Lakshmi. It may be noted here that in this interesting sculpture the cock also appears along side the peacock both being the symbols of Skanda-Kārttikeya. How they also became associated with Śrī-Lakshmi is not known, but by the early centuries of the Christian era when iconographical and symbolical concepts had not been formulated the symbols used in the contexts of many gods and goddesses were interchangeable.

V

Literary evidences interpreting the symbolism of various plants, animals and birds connected with the Mother goddess cult could be further supplemented by carved stone discs depicting the Mother goddess found from Murtaziganj, Kauśāmbī, Varanasi and other sites, terracotta figurines and plaques and some copper objects. One of the chief interest of some of the carved discs is that they throw some light on the cult aspect of the Mother goddess which literature fails to enlighten. In this respect the fragment of a stone disc in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, the fragment of a disc from Rupar and a disc from Murtaziganj are of great importance.

Pramod Chandra¹⁰¹ makes some interesting observations about the fragment of a disc in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan. To quote him "Here a *makara* or a *godhā* moving in a counter clockwise direction is preceded and followed by two recumbent figures, both of whom wear kilt-like garments and shown in profile. The person behind the *makara* or *godhā* holds a flower and is apparently prostrating himself, face to the ground, while the person ahead of the animal is shown lying to his side, facing the sky and holding what appears to be a ear of grain or a bud on a long stalk." Pramod Chandra has also drawn our attention to the characteristic features of the priests with their sloping foreheads and large noses. He has also noted that while one of the goddesses is nude, the other is clearly clothed and has also pointed out the resemblance between the figures of the priests on the Rajghat disc fragment and the priests on the Rupar fragment and the Murtaziganj discs.

The disc fragment from Rupar excavated by Sharma¹⁰² from Rupar III

¹⁰⁰ Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Pl. VI, 15.

¹⁰¹ Pramod Chandra, "The Cult of Śrī Lakshmi and Four Carved Discs in Bharat Kala Bhavan", *Chhavi: Golden Jubilee Volume*, Banares, 1971, pp. 139-148.

See the fragment of a disc in the Allahabad Museum, the nude Mother goddesses are shown standing between the palm trees with the hand on the top carved with a row of *makara* or *godhā*. Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Pl. V., 13.

¹⁰² Y. D. Sharma, "Past pattern in living as unfolded by excavations at Rupar", *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, April 1955-March 1956, p. 125, Pl. XLVI, fig. 13.

level dating between c. 600-200 B.C. is an important antiquity of the Mauryan period giving some important additional information about the Mother goddess cult (Fig. 1). The central point of the composition is a horse-shoe hut made of leaves thatched on a bamboo frame. It is shaded by a *pīpal* tree. Outside the hut, on the left, is seated a priest on a low stool clad in a kilt-like garment, his hair tied with a broad ribbon. He is offering a ball-like object which may be a *bel* fruit, which, as we have seen earlier was a favourite fruit of Śrī, offered to a female devotee desirous of a progeny who had come to worship the goddess. Her hair is plaited, the *sārl* is pleated and she wears bracelets. Her features are rather coarse. It is remarkable that the priest and his dress are exactly the same as that of the priest and his dress on a Murtaziganj disc to be described later on. On the right appears the nude Mother goddess her hands hanging straight lower down and her feet splayed. Her hair is arranged in a wig-like manner with schematic curls and she wears thick peg-like earrings, a zone and bracelets. Facing her appears a man, perhaps a foreigner as he wears a striped and pleated tunic, trousers and full boots. Her right hand is upraised and the left lowered down. Just below the corded arch, appears broken figure of the Mother goddess flanked by lotus plants.

Among the seventy-one carved stone discs found from Murtaziganj within the limit of the Patna City Municipality¹⁰³ one disc is very important as like the Allahabad Museum and Rupar disc fragments it portrays the priest of the Mother goddess and also possibly his consort (Fig. 2). The entire surface of the disc is divided into two parts by introducing a palm tree on dividing points. In the right hand sector central figure of the nude Mother goddess is standing, her hands hanging down straight and her feet splayed. She has coarse features and wears a wig-like hairdress, peg-shaped earrings, the zone, bracelets and amulets. To her right stands a priest wearing a kilt-like garment with crenellated border, his hair tied with a broad ribbon, holding what looks like a lighted torch, in the left hand. Behind him is represented a galloping stag proceeding to the right and a peacock proceeding to the left, pecking at the palm tree as it were. To the left of the goddess appears a goose followed by a nude male figure with a strange animal-like face who could either be a devotee or the consort of the goddess. Following him appears a galloping horse and a cock. Then follows a palm tree. In the second sector appears a galloping elephant to the right with a goose below. The priest holding a goose in his left palm is facing the nude Mother goddess. Then follows the nude devotee or her consort followed by a galloping deer and a peacock facing to the right.

The entire background of the disc is plain, in the centre is a circle with rayonnant decoration which may either indicate a full blown lotus or the sun.

The most striking point about the Rupar and Murtaziganj discs is the

¹⁰³ S. A. Shere, "Stone discs found at Murtaziganj", *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, pp. 178-190, Pl. V. fig. 3.

steatopygous nude Mother goddess. Ancient literature hardly make any reference to her nudity. However, in the *Bhāṣajyagurū Sūtra*¹⁰⁴ it is mentioned that the presiding deity of Mathura, who was no doubt a Mother goddess, fearing that the Buddha who had entered the city to put some obstacle in her way appeared naked before him. The Buddha, however, rebuked her for this behaviour as it did not behove a woman to do so. Here the nudity of the Mother goddess is clearly emphasized.

Though generally on the discs the nudity of the Mother goddess is emphasized there are instances when she is shown draped. In this category may be placed a carved disc from Vaiśālī.¹⁰⁵ In this votive disc two points may be noted. Firstly, the Mother goddess is associated with the *pipal* tree and not with the palm tree as usual, and secondly, the Mother goddess is represented in a unique way. In one case "she is draped in a heavy skirt, while her head is encircled by a double row of pellets indicating an elaborate headdress. In the other case she has raised curls with delineated flat face and wears *patrakumfālas* and a heavy feathery skirt with a curious projection resembling a bird's wing. In both cases the figures face front with the upper body slim and bare and one of the hands raised." It is notable that in the Śuṅga terracottas the Mother goddess appears mostly draped perhaps indicating that a sense of propriety had crept in contemporary beliefs.

Before we discuss the problem of the priest and the nude devotees or consorts appearing on the carved discs attention may be drawn to a rectangular steatite plaque of the Mauryan period (Fig. 3).¹⁰⁶ The vertical plaque is divided into three rectangular compartments enclosed by double denticulated borders. In the top compartment a dance is in progress. On the right a male musician, his hair combed back, wearing a heavily pleated *dhottī* hanging upto the heels which he has secured to the waist with a belt is strumming the harp. On the right a danseuse is performing with her right hand upraised and the left hand lowered down. She wears a pleated *sārfī* reaching the ankles and big circular earrings. Her hair is arranged in schematic curls. The figures are carved crudely.

In the middle compartment, on the left, a male devotee of the Mother goddess, dressed exactly like the harpist in the top compartment, is holding a tall ringed wine cup which he is apparently offering to a woman devotee standing on the right, who as the attitude of her hands shows, is proceeding to receive the cup. Her chignon is arranged in two plaits with a knot at the end. She wears a *sārfī* and bracelets. She has coarse features with a prominent nose, thick lips and almond-shaped eyes. In between the devotees, lying on the floor, is a wine jar.

¹⁰⁴ *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ Krishna Deva and Vajayakanta Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations: 1950, Vaisali (Bihar), 1961*, p. 63, Pl. XXIII, fig. 22.

¹⁰⁶ *Indian Archaeology—a Review*, 1962-63, pp. 5-6, Pl. XII (b).

In the bottom compartment on the left appears a nude male holding a cup in his left hand apparently stepping forward to offer it to the nude Mother goddess on the right. She stands with her hands lowered down, the feet splayed and the hair arranged in schematic curls. She wears circular earrings, a torque and a zone.

A circular terracotta plaque from Avara¹⁹⁷ in Madhya Pradesh (Figs. 4-a & 4-b) throws further light on the erotic aspect of the Mother goddess cult. The plaque which is datable to the first century B.C. has a hole on a semicircular projection at the top which indicates that it was meant to be hung in some place of worship. Here the Mother goddess stands on a lotus pod with a stalk springing on either side tipped with an open flower. Flanking the stalks are plants tipped by what appear to be wheat or barley ears. In the background appears a palm tree with its fronds clearly marked. The goddess has her legs slightly flexed. She holds an end of her garment with the left hand and touching the earring with the right hand. She wears a tall triangular headdress with a recurved horn on either end, a necklace hanging between the breasts, armlets, bracelets, anklets and the zone holding in place the transparent *sāri* which reveals her sex. There is hardly any doubt that the goddess could be identified with Śrī.¹⁹⁸

The most important part of the composition, however, is a couple or Mithuna on either side of the goddess fondling the women held in their laps as a preparatory stage for sexual union. In the foreground appears a pitcher on either hand which either contained wine, or as the lotus vegetation around them shows are *pūrṇaghata* symbolizing the waters, the source of all life.

The reverse of the plaque is decorated with three concentric circles; the first is decorated with diagonally assorted lozenges; the second with cable pattern and the third with an expanding lotus.

We have seen that in a carved disc from Murtaziganj and the plaque from Rajgir nude male figures appear. The question which poses itself is the identification of these nude male figures and whether they represented the consort of the Mother goddess or they were connected in some way with her cult. That the nude Mother goddess had her consort is proved by the fragment of a plaque from Kauśāmbi in the Allahabad Museum datable to the third century B.C.¹⁹⁹ The male consort stands to the left in the same posture as the Mother goddess with his hands lowered down and the feet splayed. His phallus is clearly marked. In this connection attention may be drawn to one bronze and two copper figures of the nude god in the Prince of Wales

¹⁹⁷ H. V. Trevedi, "Excavation at Āvarā," *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, No. 4, 1962, p. 25, Pl. IV. Moti Chandra, "Nidhileṭṭiga (Cornucopia): A study in symbolism," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 9, 1964-66, p. 25, fig. 17.

¹⁹⁸ *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 6, 1957-59, p. 21.

¹⁹⁹ Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Pl. III, 7.

Museum all datable to the third century B.C. The nude bronze figure (Ht. 3.8 cm.) (Fig. 5) has an oval face with a big pinched up nose and crenellated beard; both hands are broken; slender torso; the astride legs are also partly broken; a dagger attached to the waist-band. The most important part in the anatomy of the figure is the hanging phallus and the testicles. The second nude copper figure from Kauśāmbī (Ht. 3.3 cm.) (Fig. 6) has a tall ovaloid head, pinched up nose and slit lips giving the face a bird-like appearance. The hands are hanging down the sides; the torso is narrow and the hips broad. The widely separated legs are slightly bowed and the phallus is indicated by a pallet. The third nude figure (Ht. 5.3 cm.) is elongated (Fig. 7). The head is tall and strangely bird-like, the slightly bent hands are hanging at the sides; the torso is long; a hole indicates the navel; the widely separated legs are stumpy; and a lump indicates the phallus. There is hardly any doubt that all these figures, in spite of slight differences represent the same god.

Who was that god there is no clue to suggest, but the figures recall to mind Śiva as Lakuliṣa with erect phallus whose iconographic form is well known. As a matter of fact in the *MB.* XIII. 17 Śiva is addressed as Ūrdhvaretas (45), Medhrajā (58), Vṛishanā (80) and Mahāmedhra (83)—all signifying the nudity of the god. As the Mother goddess had no fixed form in ancient literature exchanging her role with other goddesses it is possible that when appearing with a nude male figure she may be representing Umā-Ambikā whose role as the consort of Śiva is well known.

The priests appearing on the carved discs seem to be Babylonian both in physiognomy and dress. How these foreigners got attached to the Indian Mother goddess is still a mystery, but the possibility is that in the third century B.C. or even before there was an intrusion of the Mother goddess cult from Western Asia in this country which though syncretized with the indigenous cult, continued to maintain some of the original features of the cult. The typical kilt-like under-garment worn by the priests is the Babylonian *kaunakēs* made of wool. It might have been so made in India, but *gopī*, the equivalent of *kaunakēs*, which appears in ancient Buddhist literature, might have been the sack-cloth, as *gopī* made of hemp is known today.

In Babylonia *kaunakēs* is the symbol of luxuriant vegetation, fecundity and prosperity,¹¹⁰ and in India as well the garment seems to have carried the same symbolical meaning.

The Mother goddess Śrī and others are closely related with the plant life specially the lotus, a symbol of the waters. However, in the carved discs her contact with the palm-tree is emphasized. The ancient literature has little to say about the symbolism of the palm-tree; apparently either it was borrowed

¹¹⁰ Jean Przyluski, "The Great Goddess in India and Iran," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 405-430.

from Western Asia or from some indigenous folk religion about which our knowledge is limited. The goddess is also related with the *pipal* tree. In the Avara plaque she is related with the corn, thus justifying one of her designations as Śākambhārī "the nourisher of corn".

The Rupar fragmentary disc throws some interesting light on the cult of the Mother goddess. It is evident from it that the Mother goddess had some sort of sanctuary, howsoever primitive it might have been, dedicated to her worship. This structure was visited by the devotees among whom women must have preponderated and the priest offered them *prasāda* as is customary in the temples of the gods and goddesses today. It seems that in the second century B.C. the temples of the Mother goddess became somewhat more elaborate. We have already referred to the temple of Śrī at Vidiśā which must have existed in the second century B.C. In one of the medallions of Stūpa 2 of Sanchi a woman who could be identified with Śrī, as she is holding a lotus, stands framed in the vaulted doorway with the balustrade in front.¹¹¹ This doorway indicates that the structure perhaps represented a modest temple of Śrī.

The Rajgir plaque and the Avara terracotta disc also throw important light on the esoteric rites of the Mother goddess cult. In common with the later Śaktism dancing, music, drinking and sexual revelry formed a part of the cult. Not only the devotees drank, wine was offered to the goddess. It is because of these practices that early Buddhism proscribed the Śrī cult.

In the Avara disc the *pūrṇaghāṭa* probably appears as an auspicious symbol, closely associated with Śrī-Lakṣmī who is shown as standing on a lotus and the *pūrṇaghāṭa* is also associated with the mass of lotus flowers and leaves. "The three types are apparently equal and synonymous symbols of abundance, and it may be that the vase alone should be regarded as an aniconic symbol of and equivalent to the goddess herself."¹¹²

"The vase of plenty described above is clearly a life symbol, and the formal offering of such a vase can only be the expression of a wish that the recipient, or in general all those present, may enjoy health, wealth, and long life. The representation in art implies similarly a desired instigation by suggestion of all the vegetative energies involved in the current conception of well-being; as a symbol it clearly belongs to the order of ideas characteristic of the ancient life cults of fertility and fruitfulness."¹¹³

It is remarkable that the symbolism of the vase of plenty had already crystallized in the Vedic period. For instance, the *RV.* IX. 62.9 speaks of the overflowing vase. The *soma* entering the vase induced all kind of beauty and

¹¹¹ J. Marshall and A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi, Stupa 2, Pl. LXXVIII 22a.*

¹¹² Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Part II, p. 61.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

prosperity (*viśvāḥ śrīyāḥ*) in it. The *pūrṇa-kalāśa* is invoked as a witness to enjoyment and blessing (RV. X. 32.9). According to the AV. XIX. 53.31, the *pūrṇakumbha* symbolizes the substratum of time. The YV. XIX. 87 significantly points out that it symbolizes life emanating from the womb. Neumann rightly observes that in the great vessel of the female body the principal symbolic elements are the mouth, the breast and the womb. Thus the womb, a part of the body-vessel or the vessel itself in Vedic terminology is the source of all life. To quote Neumann, "The lowest level of this belly zone in the underworld that is contained in the 'belly' or 'womb' of the earth. To this world belong not only the subterranean darkness as hell and night but also such symbols as clasm, cave, abyss, valley, depths, which in innumerable rites and myths play the part of the earth womb that demands to be fructified."¹¹⁴

We have already discussed the symbolism of the *makara* and its association with some Yakshis, Śrī-Lakṣmī, Gaṅgā, Kāma and Varuṇa and how closely it was associated with fertility, wealth and the waters. Attention may, however, be drawn to two following objects which provide interesting information about the association of the Mother goddess with the *makara*.

The first is a *makara*-shaped copper ritual implement measuring 5.5 cm. lengthwise (Fig. 8-a-b). Unfortunately it is badly corroded. It is recurved in shape and perhaps served as the handle for a ritual staff. The surface of the handle is decorated with a series of nude Mother goddesses with dotted haloes and rosettes indicating the lotus. It has a ring to which is attached the figure of a bird—perhaps a peacock. A question may be posed whether it is a part of the miniature Śrī-Yashṭi referred to in the *Srī-Sūkta*.

The second object, a circular terracotta plaque in the collection of the State Museum, Lucknow, is of greater importance for the association of the Mother goddess with the fertility aspect of the *makara* (Fig. 9). Unfortunately its provenance is not known but on stylistic ground it could be dated to the first century B.C. On either side of the disc is represented a *makara* with up-raised tail and open snout. The Mother goddess is emanating from their snouts with one leg embedded in the snout of each *makara*. The upper part of the snouts are curled round the arms of the goddess who has raised her lower garment exposing her pudenda. She wears no ornament except a necklet. Her face is round and the mouth and eyes are incised. Her hair locks are horn-shaped.

It is difficult to identify this goddess, as so far my knowledge goes this goddess does not appear in early Indian stone sculpture or terracottas. But it is evident that she is a goddess of fertility, possibly a river goddess or may be one of the forms of the Great Mother who appears on the carved discs.

¹¹⁴ Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother*, London, 1955, p. 44.

For other references see V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 43-46.

One of the forms of the Mother goddess who may be Śrī-Lakshmi in which she is endowed with wings is rather unusual. A winged¹¹⁵ terracotta figure of the Mother goddess has been found from Basarh (Vaiśālī). The goddess is standing on a lotus with her hands on the hips. She is scantily clad but wears huge earrings and is distinguished by the wings of unusual type in which the Iranian influence is clearly recognizable. The terracotta is datable to the second century B.C. Zimmer has also drawn our attention to this figurine and he has rightly pointed out that except for the winged Garuḍa, winged figures in ancient Indian art are absent though in ancient Mesopotamian art winged divinities or genii are the rule. "This Indian figure betrays connection with that tradition. That is the sphere from which are derived the wings of our divinities of the West, the Greek victory-goddesses as well as the Christian angels."¹¹⁶

The author has in his collection a fragment of a carved stone disc from Kauśāmbī measuring 5 x 2.5 cm. representing the same winged Śrī-Lakshmi as depicted on the Basarh terracotta. The steatopygous Mother goddess had perhaps splayed feet which hidden by the lotus are not visible and her nudity is prominently emphasized (Fig. 10). The waist is narrow, the breasts are round and well formed and the outstretched hands bent at the elbows, each holding a lotus-stalk springing from a rosette. The face is round; the long slanting eyes remind us the appliqué technique of early Indian terracottas from Mathura; the mouth is large and narrow and the nose thick and rather snub. The hair is arranged in schematic curls and the earrings are peg-shaped and she wears bracelets. A series of solid circles encircle the body from the breasts downwards, perhaps indicating some kind of a halo. The wings on the shoulders are fan-shaped. On the left there appear two fronds of a palm-tree indicating the association of the goddess with it.

While studying certain aspects of the Mother goddess cult and symbolical elements attached to it based mostly on the carved stone discs of the Maurya-Śuṅga period, we felt that it will not be out of place to refer to some terracotta figurines of the Mother goddess which throw light on the popular attitude towards the cult. Such terracotta figures have been found from almost all important archaeological sites from northern India and their number shows that the Mother goddess was held in great veneration by the people from the third to the first century B.C.

Mathura was an important centre of the cult of the Mother goddess though it is difficult to be positive about her identification. A figure of the Mother goddess from Mathura in the Prince of Wales Museum 21.5 cm. in height is made of unbaked clay in which only the face is moulded but the rest of the body is hand-modelled (Fig. 11). The face with its sloping forehead,

¹¹⁵ A.S.I., *Annual Report*, 1913-14, p. 116, Pl. XLIV, No. 550.

¹¹⁶ Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

large but somewhat slanting eyes, snub nose and well-modelled lips, bears a morose expression. The hands are broken, the round breasts are close together and the navel represented by a fairly big depression. The legs are also broken but the steatopygia of the figure is stressed. The chief interest of the figure, however, is in its heavy decoration. She wears heavy circular earrings and her fan-like headdress is decorated with rosettes and leaves in appliqué. The necklace hanging down the navel is made up of a series of round and oblong plaques in appliqué. The zone is made up of two rows of rosettes.

It is interesting to note that the figure of the Mother goddess bears close resemblance with the figure of the winged Śrī-Lakshmi cited above and that only means that in the 3rd to 2nd century B.C. one iconographic type of the Mother goddess had evolved itself. There is, however, one difference. While in the fragmentary disc the Mother goddess wears only the earrings and bracelets the figure under discussion wears elaborate ornaments which may be due to the popular taste which prefers elaboration to simplicity.

An interesting terracotta plaque (size 12 x 8.8 cm.) of the Śuṅga period from Kauśāmbi in the Prince of Wales Museum depicts, Gaja Lakshmi (Fig. 12) standing in *sambhanga* pose. She has narrow waist and broad hips. She wears an elaborate headdress decorated with rosettes, large earrings, a necklace and heavily folded *sāri*, one end of which passes over her left arm. Her Mother goddess aspect is very clear from the child she is holding with her right hand and resting on her waist. The association of a child with Gaja Lakshmi is unusual. An elephant on her either side standing on a lotus with long stalk was perhaps holding a water-pot in its upraised trunk, in the act of lustrating the goddess. The trunks of the elephants are damaged. The background behind the head of Gaja Lakshmi is decorated with palm fronds and the foreground with rosettes. The feet of the goddess are missing. At the bottom right corner the head of an aquatic bird has survived.

We have already pointed out that the Mother goddess holding a pair of fish depicted on a large terracotta plaque from Mathura and Kauśāmbi is not Vasudhārā as contended by Dr. Agrawala, but a variation of the Iranian goddess Anāhita whose symbol was the fish. A moulded terracotta plaque from Mathura in the Allahabad Museum datable to the first century B.C. depicts the Mother goddess holding a pair of fish (Fig. 13). She is standing with her feet joined together and her hands hanging down at her sides. Her face with long eyes, the snub nose and well formed lips conforms to the general facial type of the Mother goddesses of the period. She is fully draped wearing a full-sleeved tunic and transparent *sāri* reaching upto the ankles. Her hair is parted in the middle and decorated with pearl strands and rosettes. An ornament made of rosette plaques stretches down her right side; perhaps it was meant to represent the halo. She wears a circular and a roller-shaped earrings, a necklet, a two-stranded necklace hanging between the breasts, armlets, bracelets and a four-stranded zone. The radiating projections behind her hair

probably represent the stylized version of the top of a palm-tree, with which, as we have already pointed out, the Mother goddesses are closely associated. In her right hand she holds a pair of fish.

There is another type of the same Mother goddess with a pair of fish from Kauśāmbī (Ht. 4. 13 cm.) datable to the first century B.C. in the Prince of Wales Museum (Fig. 14). Here the standing Mother goddess wears a bicornate headdress decorated with rosettes, heavy spiralled earrings, necklets and a necklace hanging down between the breasts. She is encircled with the halo made of rosettes, traces of which have only survived. In her slightly bent right hand she holds a pair of fish and with the left hand she is touching the girdle. Her legs are partially broken. There is no palm-tree behind her.

As in the case of the carved stone discs of the Maurya-Śuṅga period depicting the Mother goddess associated with the palm-tree, in the terracottas as well she appears in association with the palm-tree. There are two terracotta plaques from Kauśāmbī both in the Bhārat Kālā Bhavan datable to c. 100 B.C. which show the association of the Mother goddess, probably, Śrī with the palm-tree (Fig. 15). Here the standing goddess is more delicately modelled, which contrasts with the heavy robustness of the Mother goddess holding a pair of fish. She wears an elaborate jewelled headdress, peg-shaped earrings, necklace, armlets and bracelets and a three-stranded zone. In her right hand, bent at the elbow, she holds a full blown lotus; the left is holding a lotus stalk or is resting on the waist. In the background are represented curling fronds of a stylized palm-tree. The legs below the knees are broken.

In the second plaque (Fig. 16) the Mother goddess wears a headdress which is decorated with a series of rosettes. She wears heavy earrings, a necklet and a necklace. Her hands are hanging by her sides. The interspace between the figure and the plaque is filled with rosettes. In the background is represented the top of a palm-tree with fronds. The lower part of the plaque is broken.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; AV. *Atharva Veda*; Br̥. *Saṁ. Br̥hat Saṁhitā*; GB. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*; GGS. *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*; HV. *Harivaṁśa*; JB. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*; MB. *Mahābhārata*; Mal. S. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*; Mam. S. *Mam Smṛitī*; Mār. P. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*; Matsya P. *Matsya Purāṇa*; PGS. *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*; Rām. *Rāmāyaṇa*; RV. *R̥g. Veda*; ŚB. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*; ŚŚS. *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*; TĀ. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*; TB. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*; TS. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*; VS. *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*; Vāyu P. *Vāyu Purāṇa*; Viṣṇu P. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; YV. *Yajur Veda*.

SOME INTERESTING OBJECTS IN THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

S. C. Kala

The Allahabad Museum contains a number of rare and interesting objects acquired from certain ancient sites of the Allahabad District. Since all of them are surface finds their dating is uncertain. However, a tentative date on stylistic grounds is being offered in the case of the objects described below:

1. Lion-headed seated female figure. Bronze. Kauśāmbī.
1st-2nd century A.D. Ht. 7 cm. (Figs. 17a and 17b).

The lion-headed goddess is seated on a low stool the seat of which rests on semi circular bars. Her legs are lowered and set apart. Her right hand is lifted and is possibly in *abhiyamudrā*. The left hand is lowered and holds a feline creature with a long tail. Her head is slightly tilted and her mouth is open. Probably she is shown in the act of roaring. Around her head there is a twisted ornament with a high knob in front and one on each side of the head. She wears an ornamental torque, bracelets, heavy anklets made of twisted bands, a waistband, *sāri* and a *patkā* hanging in between her legs. Her breasts are unusually heavy with prominent nipples. The waist is slender but the hips well developed. The animal held by the goddess is looking towards her face. A collar around the neck indicates that the animal was a pet one.

The heavy features of the figure and its mode of sitting suggest it to be the product of the Kushāna age. This well executed bronze figure is unique but its identification poses a problem.

In the recently conducted excavations at the site of Sonkh near Mathura, Dr. Hartel discovered a copper frame which holds a male and an animal-headed female figure. The female also holds a child in her left arm¹. Due to corrosion the animal head cannot be correctly identified. In the Archaeological Museum, Mathura, there is a stone slab showing a lion-headed, seated female figure attended by devotees². Her left hand is probably in *abhiyamudrā* but she does not hold a child or an animal.

In the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there is a stone image of a lion-headed

¹ Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P., December 1969, fig. 5.

² Ibid., June 1969, p. 71, figs. 2 and 3.

deity from Satna in Madhya Pradesh. The goddess is seated on a lion in the *Illāsana* posture. On the pedestal of the image, which is datable to the tenth century A.D., there is an inscription which reads—*Śrī Nārsatā (Nārasimhi)*³. It proves that during the medieval period there existed a goddess named 'Nārasimhi'. The bronze lion headed figure from Kuśāmbi may represent an earlier form of this deity.

2. Male bust. Copper. Lachchhāgir (Allahabad District). 1st-2nd century A.D. Ht. 8 cm. (Fig. 18).

The man has big eyes, open mouth and long moustaches twisted downwards. His left hand rests on the waist; the right hand is missing. He wears a low pugree knotted in a raised projection in front, a chain around his neck, a strap or *yajñopavīta* across his body and bangles. The boldly executed figure perhaps represents a foreigner. The lower part of the figure is missing.

3. Rectangular piece. Copper. Kuśāmbi. 3rd-2nd century B.C. Ht. 3.2 cm.

On this highly corroded piece is depicted a nude standing female figure. She wears big round earrings. Both of her hands are lowered and rest on the hips. She has prominent breasts, thin waist and short legs. In style the figure is very much similar to the gold figurine discovered at Lauriyā Nandgaṛh⁴ and probably represents the Mother goddess Śrī.

4. Female figure. Copper. Kuśāmbi. 3rd-2nd century B.C. Ht. 2 cm.

The female stands erect with hands lowered to the sides. She has thin waist and wears a *sāri* and heavy earrings. The headdress though corroded appears to be elaborate. The details of the jewellery and dress are not visible due to same reason. She may also represent Śrī.

5. Nude standing male figure. Copper. Kuśāmbi. Uncertain date. Ht. 3.5 cm. (Fig. 19).

The hands of the figure are lowered and stretched to sides. The legs made of twisted metal strips have been attached to the body separately. There is a hole on the head. There are no details of the face, hands and legs of the figure are highly stylized. The phallus indicates that he represents the male partner of the Mother goddess.

³ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26, Calcutta, 1928, p. 152, Pl. LIX, fig. d.*

⁴ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, Pl. XXX, fig. 105.

6. Nude standing male figure. Copper. Kauśāmbī. Uncertain date. Ht. 3.5 cm. (Fig. 20).

The hands of the male are lowered and rest on the hips. The lower part is made of a twisted metal strip. The head is suggested by a straight solid tube without any facial features. The legs which do not have feet are curved inwards.

Since there occurs a hole in the head of the above type of figurines I presume these were amulets and hung on the neck by the people having faith in charms and magic.

7. Standing male figure. Copper. Kauśāmbī. Uncertain date. Ht. 2.7 cm. (Fig. 21).

The head and neck are shown by one single solid tube devoid of any features and broken at the top. The hands, one of which is completely broken, were stretched to the sides. The middle part of the body is unusually long. Around the hip there is a thick band. The phallus is indicated. Right leg of the figure is partly broken. See Fig. 5.

8. Standing nude male figure. Copper. Kauśāmbī. 2nd-1st century B.C. Ht. 2.3 cm. (Fig. 22).

The big head of the figure is slightly tilted upwards. The eyes, mouth and ears have not been indicated but the thick nose is noticeable. The hands and legs, all broken, were probably stretched to the sides. The figure is thickly coated with rust.

The two miniature figures described above represented some male deity. These must have been kept by the people in their person for warding off evils or for worship.

9. Fish on a stand. Copper. Kauśāmbī. 1st century B.C. Length 2 cm. (Fig. 23).

The fish on a stand resting on a round pedestal which was originally fixed to some object. The scales of the fish have been carefully rendered and are reminiscent of the tin fish-pendants from Taxila³.

10. Bird (Peacock?). Copper. Kauśāmbī. 1st century A.D. Ht. 5 cm. (Fig. 24).

The bird is made of solid metal. It has a raised frill on its head. The

³ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1936-37, Pl. XVI, figs. 7 & 8.*

feathers have been indicated by incised lines. The tail end of the bird has a projecting feather on either side.

11. Hollow top part of an unidentified object. Copper.
Kausāmbī, 2nd century B.C. Ht. 15 cm. (Figs. 25a and 25b).

The object is circular at the top and has a neck. On its obverse side is depicted a standing female figure. Both of her hands are lowered to the sides and rest on the hips in the same fashion as noticeable on a number of Śunga terracotta figurines. She puts on an elaborate headdress, made of two high rolls bulging on the sides. A long fillet or braid issuing from each head-roll hangs on either side. She wears a torque, a necklace and a close fitting *sāri*. There is a rider on a galloping horse rushing towards the goddess on either side. The swift movement of the galloping horses is rendered well.

On the left side appears a *nāga* symbol (two *nāgas* with raised hoods facing one another) and on the right appears a taurine. Both these symbols occur on early tribal coins⁶.

The reverse side of the object shows, a fish placed on a standard encircled by a square railing. The square type of railing is seen in a number of tribal coins. On the right side of the standard is a symbol, called *Jayadhvaja* by Princep⁷. This symbol with different variations is found on early Indian cast and tribal coins. Below the *dhvaja* symbol on the left appears a male figure holding a bow in the left and arrows in his right bent hand. The man wears a *dhott* and a peculiar headdress, consisting of upsidetown long, twisted horns and a ring over them. The same type of bowman was also depicted on the left side. Near the head of the fish at the top left corner there is a ladder slightly different from that on the coins of king Brahāspatimitra of Kausāmbī⁸.

It may also be pointed out that fish on the standard occurs on a coin from Taxila⁹ and another from Kausāmbī¹⁰.

The curved hollow top part of the object is divided into several compartments. Each one of them contains a *nāga-mudrā*, four petals, taurine and some other symbols which are not very clear. Most of these symbols occur on the early cast coins.

The broken nails on the lower part of the object indicate that they were meant for fixing the ivory or wooden stick which was inserted inside the object.

⁶ J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1936, pp. XXIX, CXXXVI and 140.

⁷ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 628.

⁸ J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. 150.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹⁰ *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXIV, 1962, p. 20.

This object containing so many interesting symbols and motifs is indeed unique in Indian archaeology. It was probably the part of a standard or object of worship. The tall standing female figure with broad hips, thin waist and prominent breasts undoubtedly represents the Mother goddess Śrī. The fish on pole was also an object of veneration. In the terracotta medium, fish is associated with the goddess Vasudhārā¹¹. Even in the Middle East fish had a great sanctity. The fish was associated with fertility cult in Mesopotamia¹². One of the female deities found in Jordan and datable to the 1st century A.D. has two fishes facing each other on her headdress¹³. All these examples indicate the position held by fish in the mythology of India and the Middle East.

12. Ivory plaque. Jhusi. 1st Century A.D.

Ht. 12.2 cm. Weatherworn. (Figs. 26a and 26b).

The ivory plaque is carved on both the faces. On the obverse there appears to be a couple. The male stands on the right and the woman on the left side. The latter has a round face recalling the Kushāṇa female type from Mathura. She has a round jewel (*chūḍāmaṇi*) on her forehead and wears a thick torque, a necklace hanging in between breasts, a *sārt* and a girdle tied by a strap just below the navel. Her right hand is bent and rests on the hip. The lower part of the male and female bodies are broken.

On the reverse there appears a female figure in profile. Her left hand is bent and is probably holding an earring¹⁴. She wears an ornamental bracelet in her lifted hand. She wears a waist-band, one end of which hangs on her hips recalling the pattern of the waist-band on a ivory figure from Ter.¹⁵ Due to the bad condition of the plaque no specific observations could be made about its workmanship, but there is no doubt that it must have been a very beautiful piece. It may also be noted that this is the first ivory plaque found in U.P.

13. Bone plaque. Jhusi. 1st century A.D.

Ht. 10.5 cm. (Figs. 27a and 27b).

On the obverse, there is carved a standing female figure. Her head and left hand are missing. Her right hand is bent and rests on the abdomen. She wears a torque, necklace, bracelets, girdle, *sārt* and *paṭkā* hanging in front. On the right side there is a dwarf attendant.

¹¹ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VII, 1939, pp. 13-17.

¹² Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother*, London, 1955, p. 141.

¹³ N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins*, London, 1966. Pl. I and II.

¹⁴ Moti Chandra, "Ancient Indian Ivories", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin* No. 6, 1957-59, pp. 20-22, figs. 1a and 3a.

¹⁵ Douglas Barrett, *Ter*, Bombay, 1960, Pls. 10 and 11.

On the reverse side there stands a female figure. Her right hand is lifted towards the head, which is unfortunately missing. She wears a *sārl*, a girdle and a *paṭkā* hanging in front. The top and bottom part of the plaque are missing¹⁶.

¹⁶ I am thankful to the American Academy of Varanasi for photographing the objects described in this article.

TERRACOTTA HEADS FROM AKHNUR

Moti Chandra

Recently Mrs. Alma Latifi, presented nine terracotta heads from Akhnur, collected by her late husband Dr. Alma Latifi, to the Prince of Wales Museum. The terracotta heads from Akhnur now dispersed in many collections, both private and public, are well known for their technical perfection and individuality of expression, but so far they did not draw the attention of the art critics as they should have.

The townlet of Akhnur is a tahsil of the district of Jammu situated at a distance of twenty miles on a somewhat raised ground, on the right bank of the river Chenab. There is a deserted fort whose one of the main gates open in Pambarvan and the southern gate opens at Kaladab.

Akhnur is a very old town and there are many legends prevalent about it. Some are associated with the Pāṇḍavas and there are many stories about a stupid ruler of the city who is supposed to have done many acts of indiscretion.

According to people of Akhnur about sixty or sixty-five years ago one Ramchandra, a dealer in Pahari painting, and an inhabitant of Akhnur brought some terracotta heads which he had found from Pambarvan. These fine terracotta heads attracted many art dealers who began digging at the site for such heads which in course of time found their way to many museums and private collections.

However, the first serious study of Akhnur terracottas was done by Dr. Charles Fabri.¹ He found a large number of terracotta heads from Akhnur lying in a corner of the Lahore museum and attracted by their aesthetic qualities he decided to make further enquiries about their findspot. In the course of his researches he paid a personal visit to Akhnur and found that though the old site at Pambarvan had totally disappeared yet he found fragments, which in his opinion are comparable to the terracottas from Ushkur, which he dates to between 700 and 730 A.D. He carried on personal researches at Ushkur and dated the site to the period of Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa (700-730 A.D.). He contradicts the date of the site by D. R. Sahni and Pandit Ram Chandra Kak, who thought it belonged to the Kushāṇa period. Dr. Fabri is of the view that the terracottas, though lacking the definite characteristics of Gandhāra sculptures, are in some way influenced by it. He is of the opinion that the

¹ Charles Fabri, "Akhnur Terra-cotta," *Mārg*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, March 1955, pp. 53-64.

Gandhāra sculptors from Taxila who had almost lost all patronage, hearing the rise of Lalitāditya sought shelter in Kashmir where Buddhism flourished, to secure employment. He further supports his view by pointing out the stylistic development of Gandhāran sculpture. To quote him, "the stucco ousts stone carving almost completely by the end of the 6th century", followed by terracotta figurines. According to him "With the use of this softer material went hand in hand the development of a softer and more delicate mannerism: in other words, the end of the classical period. 4th and 5th centuries A.D., brought not only a more emotional, more romantic style, it also brought with it a more delicately workable material."²

The existence of Buddhist sculptors at Takshaśilā as late as 700 A.D. does not hold ground as the hordes of the Ephthalites or White Huns sweeping over Gandhāra and the Panjab in the third quarter of the fifth century had completely destroyed Takshaśilā and its monasteries. This event took place at about 460 A.D. as the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun writing in about 530 A.D. says that Gandhāra had been devastated by the White Huns two generations before his time. Marshall supports this view in his *Taxila*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1951, p. 76.

However, one may rightly question his date of the terracottas which do not betray any characteristic of the 8th century Kashmir sculpture. As a matter of fact even in the material which he obtained from Pambarvan, he found three late Gupta copper coins which he dates to the Gupta period i.e. 500 A.D., but in order to stick to his dating the site to the Lalitāditya's period he explains away the finding of such coins and says that they might have remained in circulation for a long time. The bricks *in situ* are also of the size that were used in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

The recent war between India and Pakistan has yielded further evidences about the antiquity of Akhnur. While the Indian army dug some trenches in the area some sculptures and inscriptions were found and a part of an inscription is reproduced in his article "Akhnūr-kā Purātattava" by Samsarchandra Sharma ("Dharmayug", 31st December, 1972, pages 28-29). This inscription appears to be in Gupta characters.

There is hardly any doubt that the *stupa* at Akhnur belongs to the Gupta complex. It is well known that the Guptas were fond of architecture in brick decorated with moulded terracottas. The Gupta terracottas are distinguished for their realism tempered by a restrained dignity, an outstanding feature of the Gupta art.

These characteristics of Gupta terracottas are not confined to any particular site but to all sites extending from Bengal to Mirpurkhas in Sind and

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

also to Devnimori in Gujarat and Bikaner area in Rajasthan. The Guptas had apparently inherited the rich tradition of the terracotta art from the Kushānas. The barbaric features of the Kushāna terracotta art was, however, moulded into a fresh dignity by the Guptas. It is quite possible that by the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century this terracotta art travelled from the Gangetic valley to other parts of the country and penetrated as far as Akhnur.

It is evident from the terracotta heads presented by Mrs. Latifi that though there are faint traces of Gandhāran influence in their treatment and expression they are Indian. For instance, while the nose in Gandhāra sculptures and stucco has almost no bridge, in the terracottas under study most of them have well defined bridge. The aquiline nose of the Gandhāra sculptures except in one or two cases is replaced by a broad nose. Similarly the lips in the terracottas are thick, the lips found commonly in Gupta sculptures and in the treatment of hair and moustaches some Gandhāran influence has survived. Perhaps the Akhnur sculptures were also indebted to Gandhāran influence in delineating the baser instincts of life such as anger and danger, though in the contemporary Gupta paintings and sculpture as well these emotions are caught and rendered with surety.

The heads are, however, marked by the individuality of expression which defy canonical precepts. The sculptors apparently believed in individual mode of expression and did not think it wise to accept *Śāstric* injunctions which to a certain extent tried to restrain the technique and expression. Though Akhnur site was Buddhist, the heads found from that site represent layman and devotees. The heads were apparently fired separately and then added to objects made of clay.

It is difficult to analyse fully the stylistic features of terracotta heads from Akhnur in this note. It is suggested that all material lying in different collections should be photographed and then alone it will be possible to give more or less a complete stylistic analysis.

DESCRIPTIONS

72.2

Male head.

Height: 17.3 cm.

The head represents a robust person with full cheeks; moustaches with thin ends; smiling thin lips; rather thin nose; open eyes; arched eyebrows; curled hair tied at the top in bow-shaped knot. On the forehead hair line appears a decorative band; floral earring on the left side (Fig. 28).

72.3

Male head.

Height: 17.3 cm.

The head again represents a strong healthy person with long flaring moustache; thick lips; broadish nose; open eyes and sloping forehead. His

hair is curled with a top-knot held in place by a band at the hair line (Fig. 29).

72.4

Male head.

Height: 16 cm.

It is a very expressive head. The feeling of disgust or anger is expressed by deep wrinkles, knitted eyebrows and inflated eyes. The moustaches are thin and there is dimple in the chin. The hair is arranged in a skein. There is a broad band on the temple with a rosette on either end and tied in a knot on the left side; rosette earring in the left ear (Fig. 30).

72.5

Male head.

Height: 12 cm.

Thin small mouth with twirled moustaches; deeply arched eyebrows. The temple is marked with three carved lines, apparently indicating *tripundra*, a Śaiva symbol. The hair is curled and decorated with ornaments. In the right ear he wears a circular earring (Fig. 31).

72.6

Female head.

Height: 17.3 cm.

The head wears noble expression and is marked with a slight smile. The face is full; the eyes open; the nose is straight and the temple receding. Her hair is arranged in ringlets; wears a very elaborate ornament on the head with a *makara* figure on either end holding a very large bead and topped with a triangular ornament held by a rope like pattern. (Fig. 32).

72.7

Male head.

Height: 10.6 cm.

Roundish face with thin tightly held lips and moustache; open eyes; broad nose; sloping temple with a decorative band (Fig. 33).

72.8

Male head.

Height: 14.8 cm.

Oval face with slanting lips and flaring out moustaches; open eyes; thin eyebrows; broad temple. He wears an elaborate head-dress in which a rosette band and arched flap on either side are conspicuous (Fig. 34).

72.9

Male head.

Height: 13 cm.

Oval face with twitching lips; broad chin; open eyes; arched eyebrows; sloping temples and shaved head with a triangular projection on either end. The twitching apparently expresses some kind of shock or surprise (Fig. 35).

72.10

Male head.

Height: 16 cm.

Broad face with thin moustache and smiling face; well developed chins open eyes; aquiline nose; thin sloping temple and the hair is arranged in curls; (Fig. 36).

AN EARLY RAGAMALA FROM THE KANKROLI COLLECTION

Shridhar Andhare

The old temple collection of the Mahārājā of Kānkrolī¹ has many splendid *Rāgamālā* sets, and other paintings, portraits of Rajasthani chiefs, etc. with dated inscriptions and place names hitherto unknown. The collection there provides important material for the study of Rajasthani painting, but little has been published so far. From this choicest collection of miniatures comes an important set of the so-called Popular Mughal painting, which, due to its unusual style and colouring, deserves a detailed study.

Unfortunately, the total number of illustrations available is thirty-five, the last being lost, therefore the possibility of the colophon which is generally at the end, is ruled out. It was also informed by the owners that this page had a seal at the back. Therefore, the date and provenance will have to be determined by comparison with other similar documents and evidence available from published material.

Painted in a vertical format of 17.8 × 22.8 cm. size, these illustrations have no text matter on the top margin but the names of *Rāgas* appear on the facing page in Persian characters and also above the painting; it is apparent on careful observation that the set was previously bound in a volume which must have been split up into loose folios. There is, however, little relevance between the captions and the *Rāga* illustrations but by and large the set fits into the table of *Rāgamālās* by the school of Hanumāna² whose classification is followed by Dāmodara, Harivallava and other authors with minor variations in northern Indian or the Hindustani system of classical music.

The entire set is painted in extremely perfunctory manner within the traditional framework and feeling of the Mughal painting of the late Akbar period except for the colour scheme which appears altogether new in com-

¹ Kānkrolī, a small estate in Rajasthan, and primarily the seat of the Dwārakādīśh, one of the seven forms of Krishna, is situated forty miles from Udaipur and six miles from the famous Nāthadwārā. The Gosain of Kānkrolī is the descendant of the third son of Bittal Nāthji Mahārāj, the eldest son of Vallabhāchārya who lived in the 16th century. This place of the Vaishnavas had close relationship with the rulers of Amber since 17th century and later with Jaipur in the 18th and 19th centuries. It is quite likely that fresh material from this collection will yield some important data for the study of miniature paintings especially that of Amber and Jaipur. I am thankful to Sri Vrajabhushanji Maharaj of Kānkrolī for allowing me to publish this set. Photo credits to Dr. Pramod Chandra, Professor of Indian Art, Chicago University, U.S.A.

² O. C. Ganguly, *Rāgas & Rāginīs*. Vol. I, text, Bombay, Reprint, 1948, Appendix 33, p. 220.

parison with the known groups of so called Popular Mughal paintings² of late Akbar and early Jahangir periods.

The compositions are repetitive. In most pictures open landscapes, the rocky foregrounds and large trees with big circular leaves painted partly yellow and blue green occupy the major space of the composition (Fig. 40) leaving the figure in the open inconspicuously. The architecture is confined to hexagonal or square open pavilions with very slender pillars, patterned enclosure walls, tiled domes and floorings, etc. In certain cases triple domed tiled pavilions (Fig. 44) are also found. The open spaces are interspersed with large floral and leafy sprays (Fig. 42). Only two or three tree types are used, the more usual ones have roundish leaves which at times give a faint idea of a *pipal* tree; at places the Mughal mannerism of showing the roots is also attempted (Figs. 40 and 41). In many illustrations the foreground is left plain or is intended to represent a garden or open courtyard with a gate, etc. (Fig. 41). There appears a curious feature in using a flower vase or an ewer in the composition (Fig. 42). These vases painted in black or in white sometimes recall their Kashmir origin when compared with enamelled ewers from that area. Whether these vases are a deliberate space filling device is not known. However, it is interesting to note that such types of vases do not occur in any known sets of Popular Mughal painting.

The male figures are somewhat short; they usually wear half *dhott* with a fan-like pleated protrusion in front and a short *atpatt* (?) turban. A long and narrow patterned *dupattā* is worn over the neck, the ends going under the armpits. There also appears a second type of turban which by and large could be assigned to the late Akbar period (detail of Fig. 37). It is surprising to note again in this set that there is not a single instance where we see a male figure wearing a *jāmā* or a *chūrdār pajāmā*.³

An added emphasis seems to have been to the female figures. They are generally clad in a *ghāghrā*, *chōli* and a transparent *odhni* with fluttering ends. The body is unduly elongated with a small head, narrow waist and developed hips. A long and thin single plait follows the contour of the body at the back and black pompons are seen attached to its ends. Exceptionally large and round pompons are attached to the waist, and the fan-like pleated protrusion is also seen in front of the *ghāghrā*. Pearl ornaments decorate the head, neck and arms.

A distinguishing feature of the set is the use of small sprays, invariably

² Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings: A Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection held by the Lalit Kala Akademi—New Delhi, 1960* and see Pramod Chandra, "Ustad Salivahana and the development of popular Mughal art," *Lalit Kala*, No. 8, 1960, Bombay, 1960, pp. 25-46.

³ In this illustration of *Rāga Vasant*, we see a strange type of half *jāmī* which resembles to a type of short skirt. It is held by a thin *kamarband*, the ends of which almost touch the ground.

in olive green and yellow interspersed throughout. The indiscriminate use of this motif disturbs the composition. This early Mughal element is observed in many Mughal manuscript illustrations of the *Akbar Nāmā*,³ the *Bābur Nāmā*⁴ and others. The colour scheme of this set is also unusual. The colour scheme is very cool and pleasant. Strange shades of greys, blues and orange with mixtures of olive-green, lemon yellow and whites are largely used. In no illustration do we come across the warm and bright hues of the early Mughal palette. This to me indicates to their unmistakable origin of some Rajasthani provenance, perhaps Amber or elsewhere. In the illustrations of some *Rāgās* we see the rain suggested by tiny white lines. Usually in *Rāgamālā* sets we see the depiction of rain in the *Rāga Megha-Malhār*, or *Megh*, but in this set the painter has used this device in *Rāga Megha-Malhār*, *Rāga Vasant*, *Rāga Hīṇḍol* and *Kedār*. The landscape, which is cleverly minimised to few rocky areas in the background and the foreground, a tree or two in the middle plain where the ground is usually studded with leafy sprays, serves as an appropriate stage for the artist to express the spirit of the *Rāga*. The sky is always cloudy with strokes of grey, black and white lines representing movement. Perspective is almost elementary. There is little attempt to show distance by reducing the size of objects at a distance and the temples, houses and other structures are suggested in a very amateurish way.

The overall execution of the *Rāgamālā*, the colouring and style, sets one thinking on its stylistic affinities. On the one hand it is perfunctory and folkish work with unusual colouring and on the other it shows early Mughal features in male and female types, landscape, and other details of an unknown provincial centre of painting of a very early period, at least between c. 1590-1600 if not earlier.

Although it is true that Akbar's imperial atelier set standards for the superior quality of a state-patronized painting, less important works were being produced by some of the painters employed by noblemen in the late Akbar and early Jahangir period. This so called Popular Mughal Art⁵ was being practised at Ajmer, Agra, Lahore, or other prominent centres of Mughal culture. However, it has recently been observed that the so called "Popular Mughal" painting was being produced well within the later Akbar period and that private establishments of painters were already at work. About the Hindu patronage to painting during the Akbar period, history is not clear except for some historical facts and some notable discoveries of dated and

³ S. I. Tulayev, 4. Scenes from the Akbar Nāmā (*Akbar Nāmā* of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London), *Mārg*, Vol. XI, No. 3, June 1958, pp. 53-55.

⁴ S. I. Tulayev, "3. Miniatures from a 16th Century Manuscript—'Bābur Nāmā,'" (from National Museum, New Delhi) *Mārg*, Vol. XI, No. 3, June 1958, pp. 45-52.

⁵ Kari Khandalaval, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings*, A Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Sri Motichand Khujanchi Collection held by the Lalit Kālā Akademi—New Delhi, 1960 and see Pramod Chandra, "Ustād Sālīvāhana and the development of "popular Mughal art", *Lalit Kālā* No. 8, 1960, Bombay", 1960, pp. 25-46.

inscribed MSS. and other material from Amber and Jaipur region which throw some light on the art of painting, which had remained unattended so far. With the help of this material now it is apparent that Amber, the capital of the Kachhawāhās since the rule of Bihārī Mall—Bahār Mall—Bhār Mall—(1548-1575) whose daughter was married to Akbar in 1587, Bhagvantdāsa, (1575-1592) and later on during the reign of Mān Singh (1556-1614) had a rich cultural heritage with strong Hindu character which must have patronized painting during Akbar period (1556-1605). The discoveries of the murals on the *chhatris* of Bhār Mall⁸ and the murals on the Jahangir's garden pavilion at Bairāt⁹ as well as the recent discoveries of wall paintings at Bhavpurā¹⁰ and Mozmābād¹¹ near Jaipur, and a Dīgambara Jain MS. of *Adipurāṇa*¹² painted at Mozmābād in A.D. 1606, give adequate proof of the Hindu and Jain patronage to painting which, stylistically speaking, falls within the framework of Rajasthani version of the provincial Mughal art which was being practised in the Kachhawāhā region at Amber and Jaipur at least from the period of Rājā Mān Singh (1556-1614).

There are yet some more historical facts and documents which lend support to the theory of the existence of the late Akbari school of painting in Western India, Gujarat and Rajasthan. According to Moti Chandra¹³ "Painters in Gujarat played an important part in the Mughal atelier of Akbar. Soon the pupils of these painters spread out in search of their livelihood to Gujarat and Rajasthan and this laid the foundation of the Popular Mughal style. This is a style in which though the figure drawing and costumes and to a very limited extent the landscape are indebted to the Mughal style yet the older traditions both in colour and landscape persist". In this Popular Mughal style, the Mughal style is simplified in a folk style which was used very extensively for satisfying the popular demand.

It is true that all the Mughal artists were not attached to the atelier of Akbar but some of the Mughal grandees also had well equipped atelier, in which talented artists painted illustrated MSS. Among such grandees was the famous Khān-i-Khānān¹⁴ (Abd-al-Rahīm-Khān-i-Khānān) (1556-1617) the

* H. Goetz, The Early Rajput Murals of Bairāt (Ca. A.D. 1587), *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. I, 1954, p. 117. (Since Bhārmall died in 1584, and Bhagvantdāsa in A.D. 1589 and the *chhatris* generally were erected soon after the death of a ruler, the dates of their paintings cannot be much later which though fragmentary now, show clear Akbari character).

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-118.

¹⁰ Kail Khandalavala, *Amber* (Portfolio), Lalit Kālī Akademi, Bombay (in press).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Sarayu Doshi has recently discovered a number of dated Dīgambara Jain MSS. which she has incorporated in her Ph.D. thesis *Illustrated Manuscripts from Dīgambara Jain Bhāṇḍāras*, Bombay, 1971 (Unpublished).

¹³ Moti Chandra and Umakant Shah, "New Documents of Jaina paintings", *Shri Maharaja Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Pt. I, Bombay, 1968, p. 356.

¹⁴ M. Mahfuzul Haq, "The Khan Khānān and his painters, illuminators and calligraphists", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. V, No. 4, Hyderabad, Oct. 1931, p. 621.

great general of Akbar and the son of the famous Bayrām Khān, who had gathered around him a galaxy of some talented artists of this period.

Usually Khān Khānān appears in the role of a great commander and a capable administrator, but he was equally great as a poet, linguist and a connoisseur. "He was a generous patron of savants, poets, painters and penmen."¹⁵ He was twice the Governor of Gujarat from (1575-78) and from (1584-89).¹⁵ During his tenure in Gujarat or even when he was at Multan and Bhakkar¹⁶ it is quite likely that local talents might have been attracted towards him and were employed on painting commissions of the less important MSS. of local interest such as the *Rāgamālās* and the secular subjects like the *Mādhavānala Kāmakandalā Chaupāi* etc. Fortunately, it has been possible here to study two colophons of the above mentioned manuscripts. The *Mādhavānala Kāmakandalā Chaupāi*¹⁷ as per colophon (Fig. 47) was written in V.S. 1616/1559 A.D. at Jaisalmer by Kuśalalābha and the present copy was written (perhaps painted also) in V.S. 1660/A.D. 1603. In the same colophon, Chaupāi No. 42 indicates a valuable clue to support that the MS. may have been copied and perhaps painted also in Jaisalmer.

It mentions "*Rāula Mālasu paṭṭa dhara, kuṭvara Śrī Harirāj, virachit ae śrīngāra rasa*.....etc." i.e. Rāwala Śrī Hari Rāj, possessor of the *paṭṭa* of Mālasu (Village) composed this MS.

Apparently Mālasu appears to be the name of a village in Jaisalmer state and the Bhāṭṭis are the descendants of Rao Māldeo and are styled as *paṭṭāyats* from Bāru¹⁸ who had eighteen small villages under them.

Rāwal Māldeo¹⁹ who came to the throne in V.S. 1607/A.D. 1550 had seven sons; Harirāj, Bhawānidās, Khetsi, Nārāyaṇdās, Sāhasmall, Netsi and Pūraṇmall. After the death of Rāwal Māldeo in V.S. 1618/A.D. 1561 his son Rāwal Hari Rāj came to the throne. He was awarded titles at the court of Emperor Akbar and he extended his territories to a great extent. Rāwal

¹⁵ R. Pinder-Wilson, "An Illustrated Mughal Manuscript from Ahmadabad," *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 160-171.

¹⁶ R. Ertlinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*, Bombay, 1961, Pl. 3, Text.

¹⁷ Shyam Manohar Pandeya, *Mādhayugīn Premākhyāna* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1967, p. 105. The Story of *Mādhavānala Kāmakandalā* was very famous in the middle ages, Gunapati, composed his first essay on *Mādhavānala Kāmakandalā* in V.S. 1584/A.D. 1527. Subsequently Mādhava Sharma wrote his *Mādhavānala Kāmakandalā rasa vilās* in Brajabhāshā in V.S. 1600/A.D. 1543 of which one complete version is in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, Prayāg, and with this story as a base, poet Kuśalalābha wrote the *Chaupāi* of *Mādhavānala Kāmakandalā* in Jaisalmer in V.S. 1616/A.D. 1559 (see Fig. 47) which according to the last lines of the colophon was completed in V.S. 1660/A.D. 1603 and the last lines are missing. Nine folios including the colophon are in the Berlin Museum in Germany.

¹⁸ J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1920, p. 1245.

¹⁹ Mahākavirāja Syāmalādaśa, *Vīr Vinod*, Pt. II (Hindi), Chapters 14-20, p. 1762.

Bhīm²⁰ was the successor of Hari Rāj who occupied the *gaddi* of Jaisalmer in V.S. 1634/A.D. 1578. Thus, it is apparent that Rāwal Hari Rāj composed this *chaupāi* somewhere between A.D. 1561 to 1578 during his reign. Unfortunately the colophon in red is incomplete which might have yielded the place of its production, but on the basis of the above details of the colophon it can be surmised that the paintings were also done at Jaisalmer which has always been an important centre of painting since earlier times. The colophon of *Rāgamālā*²¹ set is reproduced in colour in the Berlin Museum Catalogue bearing the date as V.S. 1662/A.D. 1605 has a strong Rajasthani character. Pinder-Wilson²² has published an illustrated MS. of the *Anwār-i-Suhayl*, the Persian translation of the *Kalīlā-wā-Dinnā* dated A.H. 1009/A.D. 1600-1601 painted at Ahmedabad from the British Museum (OR. 6371). The delicacy of line, the colour scheme and the general trend of this MS. is identical to that of the *Gitā Govinda*²³ folio from the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay, which was attributed by Khandalavala to Popular Mughal school of A.D. 1595-1600 (Figs. 48 and 49). These could now be ascribed to a Rajasthani or Gujarati provenance as a number of dated and inscribed Digambara Jain and Hindu MSS. have been recently discovered from Rajasthan and Gujarat.²⁴ They are from Jaisalmer, Patan, Khambat, Katch, Vadnagar, Idar, Sirohi, Amber, Jaipur, etc. which include some early ones in the Popular Mughal style. It is, therefore, evident that the Popular Mughal painting is not an isolated phenomenon of northern India but it is applicable to all the Akbari paintings produced in Rajasthan.

In the case of an unusual fragmentary *Rāgamālā*²⁵ from the Khajanchi Collection, Khandalavala and others have attributed this set to Agra or to some other centre of Mughal painting. These paintings have a somewhat folkish character and according to Moti Chandra they fall within the second category of the Popular Mughal painting which have only a partial resemblance to Mughal painting. They appear to be early examples of Rajasthani painting. It is also surprising to note that these paintings have certain similarities with the *Laud Rāgamālā*.²⁶ The comparison of Figs. 48 and 49 with *Laud Rāgamālā* plates VII, IX, XVI, XVIII shows striking similarities in the tree types, certain architectural details, especially on *chhajās* and lintels of the pavilions which are invariably decorated with grape-vine meanders, and the fort like parapets at the base of the dome; the pillars and capitals as well as the pink *chhajās* have identical colouring and technique. The colour scheme of these two

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1763.

²¹ H. Härtel, Volker Moeller, G. Bhattacharya, *Museum Für Indische Kunst Berlin. Catalogue* 1971. Col. Pl. Kat. Nr. 219.

²² R. Pinder-Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-171.

²³ Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *Miniatures and Sculptures* from the collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., Bombay, 1965, Colour Pl. D. and fig. 16.

²⁴ Moti Chandra and Umakant Shah, "New Documents of Jaina painting," pp. 348-420.

²⁵ Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, *op. cit.*, Frontispiece—Rāgini Gauri and fig. 22.

²⁶ H. J. Stooke and Karl Khandalavala, *The Laud Ragamala Miniatures*, Oxford, 1953.

sets are surprisingly similar. The female figures are also identically decorated with large pompons and tassels. The sky and landscape also appear to have been painted in the same manner. A similar picture representing a "Procession with elephants and horses"²⁷ has been published which has the pale colour scheme with abundance of mauve and pale yellow as the background which could be ascribed to a Rajasthani provenance of Amber or elsewhere. The Manley *Rāgamālā*²⁸ on careful observation also falls within this category and therefore could be attributed to a Rajasthani provenance.

On the basis of the bold Devanāgarī script which occurs on the top margin or at the back of the paintings of this style, it is also possible to suggest about their Rajasthani provenance. The two colophons referred above and the script that appears on both sides of the Cowasji *Gita Govinda* folio is predominantly Jain type Rajasthani script in vogue in Western India, Gujarat and Rajasthan all along but is nearly absent in the northern Indian examples of the Popular Mughal MSS. or paintings that we know of.

Therefore, taking notice of all the dated and stylistically similar material in its historical context it is reasonable to attribute the folkish versions of the late Akbari style paintings to Rajasthani or Gujarati provenances. Probably Amber or Jaisalmer could be the centre of their origin.²⁹

²⁷ P. Pal, *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XXVIII-No. 2, 1971, Oberlin, Ohio, Frontispiece.

²⁸ Leigh Ashton (Ed.), *Art of India and Pakistan*, London, 1949, Pl. 88, fig. 401.

²⁹ I am obliged to Dr. Moti Chandra for his valuable guidance in preparing this article.

NEWLY ACQUIRED SCULPTURES

B. V. Shetti

Stealing of art objects and unauthorizedly exporting them outside India is going on on a large scale in the recent years. Of all the states in India, Madhya Pradesh has suffered the loss the most. This state being dacoit-infested, such vandalism was attributed to the outlaws there acting in co-operation with some art dealers.

In September 1968 the police from the Matunga Police Station, Bombay, raided a local godown and recovered seven stone sculptures which were about to be unauthorizedly exported outside India. In this connection the police arrested the driver and his assistant of a motor truck involved in this case. However, the culprits jumped their bails and could not be traced later on. After long months of investigation the police were unable to locate the place to which these sculptures originally belonged. The sculptures were lying at the Matunga Police Station for several months and subsequently with the kind co-operation of Shri P. L. Mokashi, Inspector of Police (now Assistant Commissioner of Police), these were transferred to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in February 1970, for safe custody as desired by the Presidency Magistrate, 12th Court, Bandra, Bombay.

It is not known whether these sculptures were recently removed from some temple site or whether they were in someone's possession. From the type of reddish sandstone used for carving these sculptures as well as the stylistic features, such as, elongated eyes, hair style, drapery and ornaments, they belong to Madhya Pradesh and are assignable to medieval period.

There are few states in India which can claim so rich and varied remains of the glorious past as does Madhya Pradesh. Many sculptures are still lying scattered in the country side and forest areas. In the early medieval period (c. 700-1200 A.D.) the art of sculpture in Madhya Pradesh seems to have considerably on the increase due to the rapid development in the temple building activity. The production of iconographic texts gave further impetus to sculptors. Consequently the figure sculptures and decorative motifs, grew enormously in number and variety. During this period historical and cultural activities were moving around the capital cities of Ujjain and Dhar in Malwa and Gwalior, Narwar and Chanderi in the north.

The period between the eighth and tenth centuries saw a great cultural renaissance under the patronage of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The close of the

tenth century A.D. witnessed the decline of the Pratihāras in the north and the Rāshtrakūtas in the south. This resulted in the rise of the Paramāras and the Kachhavaḥas dividing the territories of the Madhya Pradesh into two kingdoms of Malwa and Gwalior respectively.

The seven sculptures under study include a dancing Vaishnavī (Fig. 50), a seated Ambikā (Fig. 51), a standing Vishṇu (Fig. 52), a female figure (Fig. 56), and three river-goddesses (Figs. 53-55). On stylistic grounds the dancing Vaishnavī may be dated to the late seventh or early eighth century A.D. whereas the remaining sculptures may be dated to 10th-11th century A.D.

Mātrikās, seven or eight in a group, are often carved in relief with the figures of Virabhadra and Gaṇeśa on either side. Occasionally we come across sculptures with only three Mātrikās usually Brahmāṇī, Kaumārī and Vaishnavī. Individual reliefs of Mātrikās are also common. Most often they are seated but sometimes we do come across standing Mātrikās as at Elephanta. Dancing Mātrikās are not so common. One of the earliest panel of dancing Mātrikās is in the Rāvalphaḍi cave at Aihole datable to the late sixth century A.D.¹

The Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi, has a four-armed dancing Vaishnavī² in their collection datable to the 10th century A.D. Another interesting dancing Vaishnavī³, which was formerly in the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection is now in the Los Angeles County Museum. This four-armed image accompanied by Bālakrishṇa and Lakshmi is from Madhya Pradesh and dated to the ninth century A.D. The position of the legs of this image is very similar to that of our dancing Vaishnavī. For further comparison attention may be invited to the image of dancing Indrāṇī dated to seventh-eighth century A.D. found at Kota in Sivapuri District and now deposited in the Central Museum at Gwalior⁴.

The goddess Ambikā is common to Hinduism as well as Jainism. In the latter she is the Śāsanadevatā of Neminātha. In the former she appears first as Rudra's sister in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (III. 57) and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 6. 10, 4-5) and then as his consort in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X. 18).⁵ Ambikā is seated upon a lion and has three eyes and four arms.⁶ As a Jaina Yakshī, Ambikā rides a lion and holds a child and a bunch of mangoes. The Śvetāmbara

¹ P. Rambach and V. D. Golish, *The Golden Age of Indian Art*, Bombay, 1955, Pls. 14-15.

² R. C. Agravala, "Brahmanical Sculptures from Bharat Kala Bhavan", *Chhavi: Golden Jubilee Volume*, Varanasi, 1971, pp. 175-76, fig. 342.

³ *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Hiramaneck Collection*, Boston, 1966, p. 47, fig. 35.

⁴ B. N. Sharma, "A Note on Vaināyaki Images", *Oriental Art*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, 1972, p. 277, fig. 3.

⁵ J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 491.

⁶ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Delhi, 1971 (Reprint), p. 358.

image is four-armed whereas the Digambara Yakshī has only two arms.² Our seated female figure with a child on her lap has no lion but has a third eye on her forehead and a bunch of mangoes shown in the background on the right side of her head. This clearly indicates that the image is of Ambikā and perhaps represents a Jaina Yakshī.

Chaturbhūja sthānakamūrtis of Viṣṇu are so commonly enshrined in the early and late medieval Vaiṣṇava temples of different parts of India, especially in those of northern and eastern India. These images can usually be classed under one or other of the *Vyūhas*. But unfortunately both the right hands of the Viṣṇu image under study are broken, and hence his exact form cannot be determined. But it is interesting to note that in this sculpture Viṣṇu's *āyudha puruṣas*, Brahmā, Śiva, Yogāsanamūrti of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī or Pṛithivī are shown.

The river goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, are frequently shown on the temple doors of the Gupta and the early medieval periods. In the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period these figures were carved on temple doorways at a higher level whereas in later period the goddesses were depicted at a lower level. Their graceful standing figures as architectural decorations are afterwards endowed with the hieratic form of cult deities or exceedingly beautiful women of a voluptuous type.

It is interesting to observe the presence of Śiva in the two Gaṅgā panels indicating his attachment to her. In the panel showing the river goddess Yamunā the presence of Vārāhī is noteworthy and perhaps indicates that the sculpture belonged to a Vaiṣṇavite temple.

The Gaṅgā panels may be compared with the image of Gaṅgā from Barwasgar³ (Jhansi District, Madhya Pradesh) to which they closely link in hair-style, drapery, ornaments and the stance.

DESCRIPTIONS

1. Dancing Vaiṣṇavī
Reddish sandstone.
Madhya Pradesh.
Late 7th or early 8th century A.D.
74 × 29.5 cm. (Fig. 50).

The four-armed nimbate dancing Vaiṣṇavī is standing with legs flexed. Her upper hands are broken; the natural right hand is in *abhayamudrā* and the left holds the conch. The broken mace in the upper right hand

² B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, pp. 142-43.

³ Oedtte Viennot, *Les Divinités Fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā*, Paris, 1964, Pl. 25 b.

and the broken *chakra* in the upper left are seen. She wears a cylindrical crown, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, earrings and *vanamālā* hanging below the knees, a girdle is round her waist and the *sāri* is touching the ankles.

2. Ambikā
Reddish sandstone.
Madhya Pradesh.
11th century A.D.
62.5 × 59 cm. (Fig. 51).

Two armed Ambikā seated in *lalitāsana* on a bolster between two pilasters. Her right hand rests on her lap and with left hand she holds a male child who is touching her breast. She wears circular earrings, necklaces—one of which passes below her breasts with a loose end hanging between the breasts, anklets and *pādasara*. Her hair is tied in a large bun on her right side. Third eye is shown on the forehead. A bunch of mangoes, seen in the background in the upper left corner.

3. Gaṅgā
Reddish sandstone.
Madhya Pradesh.
10th century A.D.
56 × 41.5 (Fig. 52).

Fragment of a door jamb with the figure of Gaṅgā and attendants. The slightly flexed goddess stands on a lotus platform ending with a *makara*. Her raised right hand holds a *pūrṇaghaṭa* and her left hand rests on her waist. The hair is tied in a bun. One of the beaded necklaces hangs between her breasts. A female attendant stands on her left with a garland in her hands. Śiva stands on the right with a *triśūla* in his left hand. His face and right hand damaged. Nandi stands behind Śiva with upturned head. Two small size standing female attendants are seen one on the left of Gaṅgā and another on the left of Śiva.

4. Gaṅgā
Reddish sandstone.
Madhya Pradesh.
10th century A.D.
48.5 × 41.3 cm. (Fig. 53).

Fragmentary door jamb panel similar as above. Here Gaṅgā stands on the stylized *makara*. The female attendant on her left holds a *vinā*. Śiva stands on the right with a trident in his left hand. A female attendant is on his right.

5. Yamunā
 Reddish sandstone.
 Madhya Pradesh.
 10th century A.D.
 55 × 42 cm. (Fig. 54).

Fragmentary door jamb showing Yamunā standing on the tortoise; her head is missing. On her right stand two female figures with a garland in their hands. On the left stands a female with a cup-like object in her right hand and a staff (perhaps part of an umbrella) in her left hand. Her hair is tied in a big bun and she wears a *vanamālā* hanging upto her knees. On the extreme left stands Vārāhī holding an indistinct object in her raised left hand.

6. Vishṇu
 Reddish sandstone.
 Madhya Pradesh.
 11th century A.D.
 99 × 43.5 cm. (Fig. 55).

Four armed Vishṇu standing on a lotus in *sambhaṅga* pose holds *chakra* in his upper left hand and *śaṅkha* in his lower left. Both the right hands and his *kirita* are broken. The *vanamālā* hangs below his knees. Gadādevī and Śaṅkha-purusha stand on his right. Chakrapurusha and Padma-purusha stand on his left. Below the lotus pedestal is seated Lakshmi or Prithivī flanked by a donor couple with folded hands.

At the top is a four-armed Yogāsana Vishṇu flanked by Vidhyādhara couples. Seated below is Brahmā on the left and Śiva on the right.

The sculpture is slightly worn out.

7. Female figure
 Red sandstone.
 Madhya Pradesh.
 11th century A.D.
 42 × 28 cm. (Fig. 56).

Standing female figure with her right hand placed on her head and the left hand supporting her breast. She wears earrings, a torque and a *sārī* fastened with a girdle with one end of its fold hanging between her legs. Her feet are missing.

A decorated pilaster is on her left.

AN INSCRIBED IMAGE OF HAYAGRIVA—*rTa mgrin*—FROM TIBET IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

Sadashiv Gorakṣhkar

The Prince of Wales Museum recently acquired by purchase a bronze image of Hayagrīva in his *Yāb-yum* form.¹ The image could be considered unique for two reasons. Firstly, it manifests an iconographic form which was not accounted for² even by Van Gulik in his exhaustive study of this deity,³ and secondly, it bears an inscription in the Tibetan script referring to the monastery where it was consecrated. (Figs. 57a and 57b).

Hayagrīva—*rTa mgrin* to the Tibetans—as a Buddhist deity is referred to in the *Sūdhanamālā* either as an emanation of Amitābha in which case he serves as an attendant to some form of Avalokiteśvara such as Khasarpana Padmanartteśvara etc., or, as an emanation of Akṣobhya he is worshipped independently. In the attendant form he is mostly represented with one head and two arms, bedecked with serpent ornaments. The best example of this form comes from the famous hoard of Buddhist metal images from Kurkihar now preserved in the Patna Museum⁴. In his independent form, which gained popularity in Tibet, he belongs to the class of wrathful deities who are invoked in their angry form. Naturally, therefore, he is represented with either one or more faces, multi-armed holding various weapons and trampling over demons symbolizing malevolent forces.

Hayagrīva, literally the horse-necked, is considered to neigh like a horse to drive away the evil forces and hence is the protecting deity of horse traders in Tibet. Nonetheless, he is also invoked in the beginning of certain rituals to ensure peace and protection.

The image under discussion represents the deity as having three faces, six arms and four legs standing in the *lalitākṣhepapadanyāsa* or the *ālīdhapada* attitude with his four legs firmly planted over two prostrate *Nāgas* in half human half-serpent forms each having a canopy of five serpent hoods. He embraces his *Śakti* with two hands of which the right hand holds a *vajra* (*Phur-bu*) or thunderbolt and the left a *kapāla* or skull-cup.

Of the other two right hands the lower holds a *khaḍga* (sword) and the upper, what looks like, a *padma* (lotus).

¹ Acc. No. 73.3, Ht. 14.5 cm.

² G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, Vol. II, p. 587, pls. 197, 198.

³ Van Gulik, "Hayagrīva", *Internationales Archiv Für Ethnographie, Supplement zu Band, XXXIII*, 1935.

⁴ P. L. Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, Patna, 1965, pl. XXXIII.

Of his two left hands the lower one holds a *sara* (arrow) but the emblem in the upper hand is missing. Iconographically this hand should have held a *pāśa* (noose) made of human gut.

He holds the *Yum*, *c'en Pad mā gar dhañ*, in close embrace. In the left hand she holds a *kapāla* while the emblem held by her in her right is difficult of proper identification, though it looks like a *karṭṭikā* (cleaver). The iconography ordains that she should hold a blood-dripping heart.

Both the figures are decked with armlets, bracelets, etc. which must have been studded with stones such as turquoise.

Iconographically his hair should be dishevelled. The image, however, wears well arranged matted hair tied by a tiara of five skulls on each of his three heads. In keeping with the iconographic requirements a horse head issues over each face of the god. Furthermore, he draws over him a tiger skin, seen distinctly at the back, and wears a garland of human skulls which clearly appears below his apron.

The remarkable part of the bronze is the human bone-apron tied around the waist of the deity. Its latticed pattern and an attempt at detail are an achievement of metal casting.

In fact the bronze itself indicates an understanding of metal casting technique in as much as the entire piece, including the pedestal, is *cast-a-jour* i.e. in one piece, and the stays or casting-channels have been cleverly modelled as a skull-garland. Only the bust of the *Yum* has been separately cast and riveted to the body. The design of the lotus pedestal too is of unusual type and indicates an early feature of about the twelfth-thirteenth century to which period we are inclined to assign our image. The bronze is sealed at the bottom with a metal plate—a regular feature—after the bronze was consecrated.

Not only the faces of the god have been painted in gold indicating his wrathful nature—for he cannot be invoked unless he is angered—but even the three horse-heads have been painted dark-green, another iconographic requirement.

The second important aspect of this bronze is the inscription appearing on the back of the pedestal. It could be freely transcribed as follows²—

॥ यि दम कु (न) ऽ दुस त (?) ये यव यू ऽ दि योन धग मि
नोर ऽ खोर व्यस (ब) सोद नम (स) ऽ फेल छिर (फिर) दद दवड
मेड सडस ग्यस शोव छिर (फिर) दु योन धग (ब) सोद नम (स)
फेल वेई द फि न नम जेड ॥

"This *yuganaddha* image of the tutelary deity (इष्टदेव) *Dhyagrīva* (Hayagrīva) for the prosperity of the donor and his family and also for the

² The inscription was got read by the Professor of Tibetology at Banaras Sanskrit University through the good office of Shri Shrikant Bhat of Bharat Kala Bhavan.

attainment of the riches and Bodhihood, was caused to be made by Punyavar-dhana at nPhigan (Dphigan?)."

It establishes that our image belongs to the class of tutelary deity, *Yi-dām*, and not to that of Dharmapāla. In this aspect he is the emanation of Akṣobhya.

The name of the monastery also requires consideration. It must be admitted that the problem of phonetics in Tibetan language has to be accounted for in deducing the correctness of our monastery. Incidentally, we know of two monasteries that have images of Hayagrīva at the entrance, the Depung,⁶ and the Jiwong⁷. We, however, cannot with certainty identify the monastery referred to in our inscription.

The closest parallel provided for comparison with our image is *Tanka* Nos. 164-166 illustrated by Tucci⁸ and as Tucci has pointed out, this iconographic version was not discussed by Van Gulik. Such an image as ours is described as "*K'ro boi rgyal po rta mgrin*" and a formula adopted by Tibetans for meditation as given by the Paṅ C'en lāmā is:

"*rTa mgrin yañ gsañ k'ros pañ sgrub t'abs dañ yañ gsañ gi smon agrel*".

The *Yāb-yum* form of this god has three faces and six arms and the faces are white (right side), red (central) and green (left side),⁹ and the emblems held by the god include lotus, hook, club, skull-cap, guts and sword which, with a little variation, are held by our image.

Basically derived from the Hindu pantheon, Hayagrīva never achieved the status it did outside India. He was accepted into Buddhism both as a Dharmapāla and as a *Yi-dām* or tutelary deity, and was highly venerated in Tibet, Nepal and China and Japan as well.



⁶ L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, Cambridge, 1939, pp. 268-269.

⁷ David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957, p. 236.

⁸ G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Pl. 198.

⁹ In Pl. X illustrated by Tucci, the face on right is green and the left is white.

THREE PAHARI DRAWINGS

Karl Khandalavala

The Prince of Wales Museum recently acquired three coloured Pahari drawings of considerable interest.

(1) A Lady seated on top of a circular ornamental structure. (16.5 × 12.4 cm). It is not easy to make out what the structure is intended to be or why the lady should be sitting on top of it. A small red bird is perched on her left hand and she is looking down at it. The figure is elegantly costumed and has adopted a fascinatingly graceful attitude with her *odhni* (wimple) draped around her. Near the embroidered hem of her wimple is a flask precariously balanced on the rounded surface of the canopy-like structure. At the base of the structure are two monster heads somewhat resembling those we see jutting out of the base of pavilions in the Basohli *Rasmañjarī* sets including that painted by Devidāsa for Rājā Kirpāl Pāl of Basohli in A.D. 1694¹. The sketch is in a modified Basohli idiom but whether it was done in Basohli or Nurpur it is not possible to be certain particularly as the figure is seated. One of these two states is the likely provenance of the sketch. There is a suggestion in the curved limbs that the figure is a very elongated one and if that surmise be correct then the Nurpur provenance is more probable. Such elongated figures, however, also come from Chamba, which may accordingly be a possible provenance. Anyway it is one of the most exquisite little drawings in a Basohli idiom that I have ever seen. All the three drawings referred to in the present article were formerly in the family collection of Shri Harish Chandra of Chamba, as per the information kindly supplied to me by Shri Vishvas Chandra Ohri, Curator of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. The date of the drawing is about the mid 18th century. The entire drawing is in crimson with occasional touches of pale orange and dark green; black outlines. (Fig. 58).

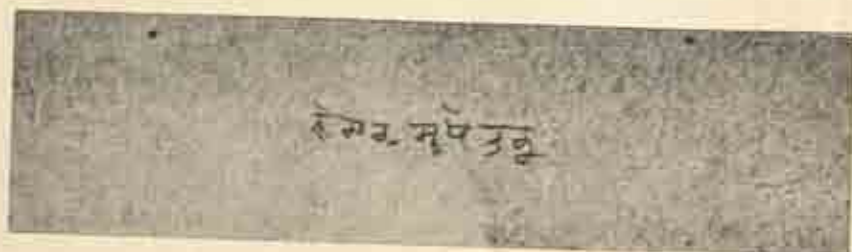
(2) Portrait of Rājā Jagat Singh of Nurpur (A.D. 1619-1646) (15.5 × 10 cm.). Apart from the inscription which mentions Jagat Singh as "Jargat Singh" there is no mistaking the personage portrayed. A portrait of him at his *pūjā* is in the Chandigarh Museum. Though it is not a contemporary portrait it is a fairly early painting and can be ascribed to the late 17th or early 18th century. There also Jagat Singh wears a somewhat similar type of turban to that seen in Fig. 59. This type of turban belongs to the late Jahāngir and early Shāh Jahān period and was obviously adopted by Jagat Singh from a style

¹ Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, Bombay, 1958, figs. 1, 6 and 8 (Study Supplement).

of turban at the Mughal court. There can be no doubt there were portraits of Jagat Singh done by Mughal artists when he was at the Mughal court and the four known portraits of this prince in Pahārī idiom are almost certainly based on one or more of these. A third bust-portrait of Jagat Singh, which is the earliest of the Pahārī portraits of this Rājā, is in a private collection and evidences marked Mughal influence. It may even be a contemporary study. He wears therein the same type of turban as in Fig. 59. The fourth is a 19th century copy in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu. The portrait Fig. 59, can be ascribed to the early 18th century. Its competent draughtsmanship and decorative effects make it a particularly nice example of Pahārī portraiture in the medium of tinted drawings. It is also an important sketch since early portraits of this famous prince of Nurpur are rare. Early in his career Jagat Singh entered Mughal service and was granted a *mansab* by the Emperor Jahāngir. He had a stormy career throughout but always obtained pardon from the Mughal court for his rebellious conduct. The King having dark complexion wearing a red and yellow plumed turban and white *jāma* is seated leaning against an olive green and red bolster. (Fig. 59).

(3) Portrait of Jai Chand (?) (21.7 × 13.5 cm.). Though the inscription reads "Jai Chand Sukhetar", this identification seems to be incorrect. The person portrayed appears to be Jai Singh of Chamba brother of Rājā Chattar Singh of Chamba. I have reproduced a portrait of Jai Singh of Chamba from the National Museum, New Delhi in my *Pahārī Miniature Painting*. Study Supplement, Fig. 46. The name of the person seated in front of him has not been deciphered. Both portraits are excellently drawn and are fine characterizations. Jai Singh acted as the Vazir of his brother Chattar Singh (A.D. 1664-1690). The figure on the right wears an orange and yellow floral turban and white *jāma* whereas the one on the left is seated clad in a red plumed turban and a yellow *chandan chola* smelling a flower. (Fig. 60).

The charm of Pahārī drawings, be they portraits or other subjects, have always been a source of delight to me.



Inscription on Fig. 60.



Fig. 1. Fragmentary carved stone disc. Rupar, Punjab. c. 600-200 B.C. Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.



Fig. 2. Carved stone disc with Mother goddess. Murtaziganj, Patna. c. 3rd cent. B.C. Patna Museum.



Fig. 3. Carved steatite plaque. Rajgir, c. 3rd cent. B.C. Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.



Fig. 4a. Terracotta plaque. Avara, Madhya Pradesh, 100 B.C.-300 A.D.



Fig. 4b. Reverse of fig. 4a.



Fig. 5. 14. Nude male figure. Bronze, Kauśāmbī, c. 3rd cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 6. 66.33. Nude male figure. Copper, Kauśāmbī, c. 3rd cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig 7. 66.32. Nude male figure. Copper, Kauśāmbī, c. 3rd cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 8a. Ritual implement, Copper, Kauśāmbī, 3rd cent. B.C. Dr. Moti Chandra Collection.

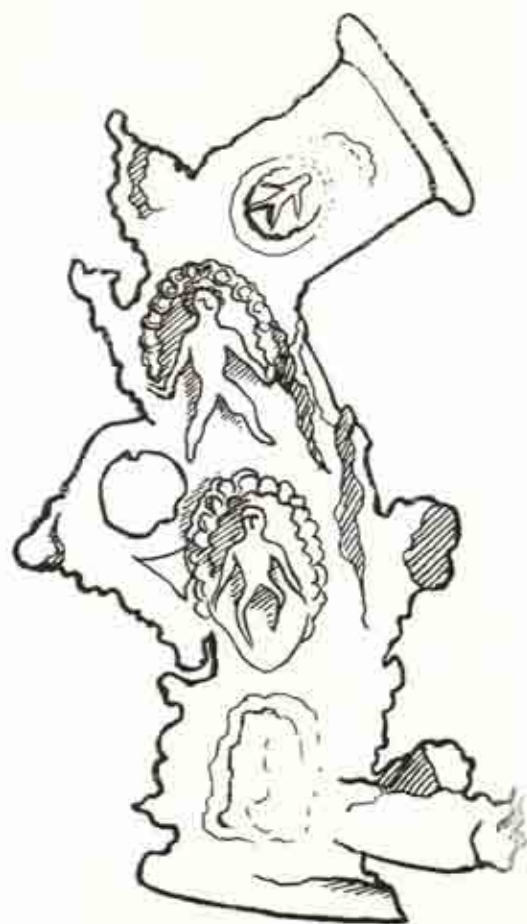


Fig. 8b. Line-drawing of fig. 8a.



Fig. 9. Mother goddess. Terracotta plaque, c. 1st cent. B.C. State Museum, Lucknow.



Fig. 10. Śrī-Lakshmi on carved stone disc. Kauśāmbi, 3rd cent. B.C. Dr. Moti Chandra Collection.



Fig. 11. 67.1. Mother goddess. Unbaked clay, Mathura. c. 2nd cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 12. Gaja Lakshmi. Terracotta. Kauśāmbi, 2nd cent. B.C.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 13. Mother goddess. Terracotta.
Mathura 1st cent. B.C. Allahabad
Museum.



Fig. 14. 65.13. Mother goddess. Terracotta. Kauśāmbī. 1st cent. B.C. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 15. Mother goddess. Terracotta. Kauśāmbī. c. 100 B.C. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi.



Fig. 16. Mother goddess. Terracotta. Kauśāmbī. c. 100 B.C. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi.



Fig. 17a. A Lion-headed female figure. Bronze. Kauśāmbī, 1-2nd cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.



Fig. 17b. Back-view of fig. 17a.



Fig. 18. Male bust. Copper. Lachchhagir, Allahabad District. 1st-2nd cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.



Fig. 19. Nude male figure. Copper. Kauśāmbī. Uncertain date. Allahabad Museum.



Fig. 20. Nude male figure. Copper. Kauśāmbī. Uncertain date. Allahabad Museum.



Fig. 21. Male figure. Copper. Kauśāmbī. Uncertain date. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 22. Nude male figure. Copper. Kauśāmbī. 2nd-1st cent. B.C. Allahabad Museum.

Fig. 23. Fish on stand. Copper. Kauśāmbī. 1st cent. B.C. Allahabad Museum.

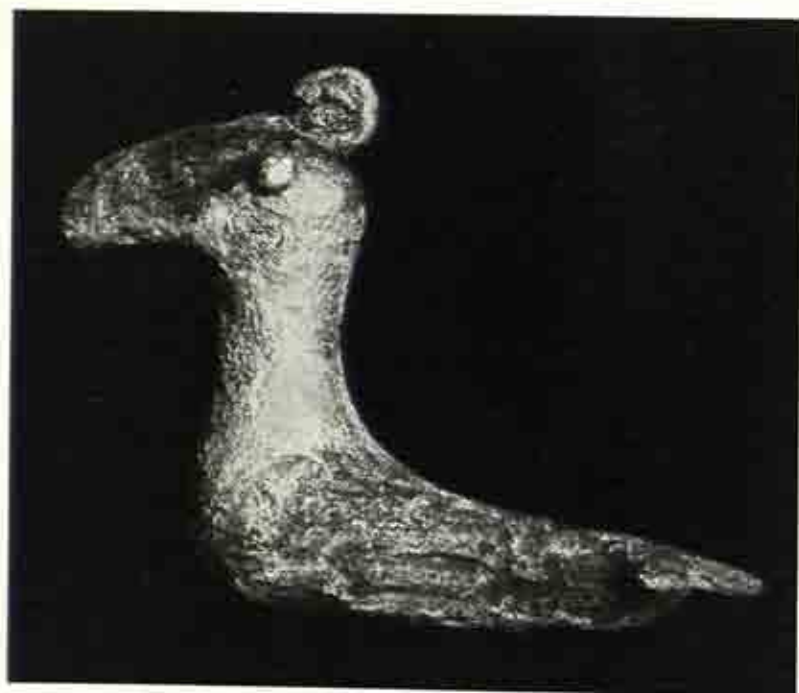


Fig. 24. Bird (Peacock ?). Copper. Kauśāmbī. 1st cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.



Fig. 25a. Hollow top part of an unidentified object. Copper. Kausāmbī. 2nd cent. B.C. Allahabad Museum.



Fig. 25b. Another view of fig. 25a.



Fig. 26a. Ivory plaque. Jushi, Uttar Pradesh. 1st cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.



Fig. 26b. Reverse of fig. 26a.



Fig. 27a. Bone plaque, Jushi, Uttar Pradesh. 1st cent. A.D. Allahabad Museum.



Fig. 27b. Reverse of fig. 27a.



Fig. 28. 72.2. Male head. Terracotta. Akhnur, Jammu District. 6th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 29. 72.3. Male head. Same as fig. 28.



Fig. 30. 72.4. Male head. Same as fig. 28.



Fig. 31. 72.5. Male head. Terracotta. Akhnur, Jammu District. 6th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 32. 72.6. Female head. Same as fig. 31.



Fig. 33. 72.7. Male head. Same as fig. 31.



Fig. 34. 72.8. Male head. Terracotta. Akhnur, Jammu District. 6th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 35. 72.9. Male head. Same as fig. 34.



Fig. 36. 72.10. Male head. Same as fig. 34.



Fig. 37a. Rāga Bibhāsa. Early Rajasthani c. 1590-1600 A.D. Sri Vrajabhushanji Maharaja of Kankroli Collection.



Fig. 37b. Detail of fig. 37a.



Fig. 38a. Rāgini Todī. Same MS. as fig. 37a.



Fig. 38b. Detail of fig. 38a.

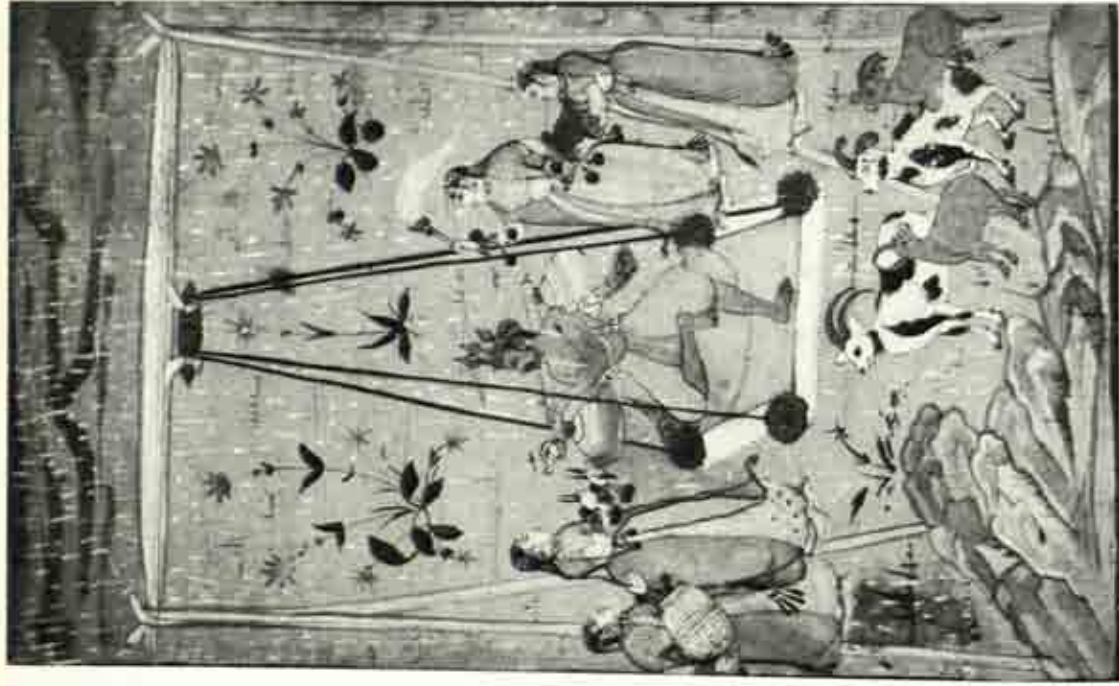


Fig. 39. Rāga Hīndol. Early Rajasthani. c. 1590-1600 A.D. Sri ¹/₂ajbhushanji Maharaja of Kankroli Collection.

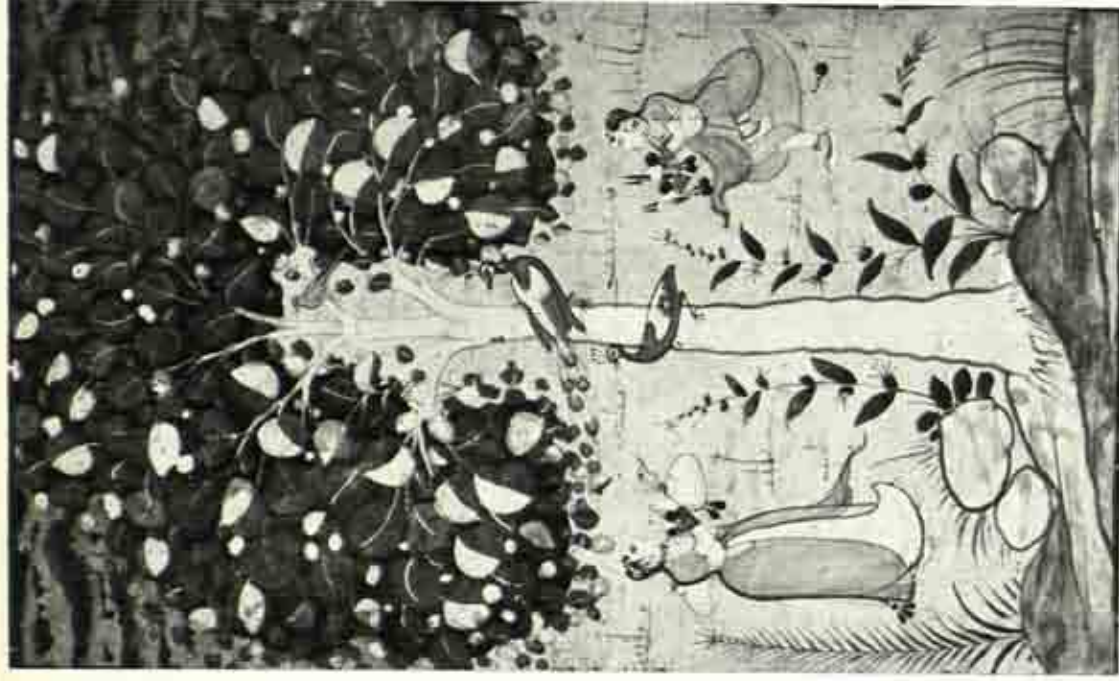


Fig. 40. Rāgini Kakubha. Same MS. as fig. 39.



Fig. 41. Rāga Vasant. Early Rajasthani, c. 1590-1600 A.D.
Sri Vrajabhushanji Maharaja of Kankroli Collection.



Fig. 42. Rāgini Padamañjarī. Same MS. as fig. 41.



Fig. 44. Rāga Lalit. Same MS. as fig. 43.



Fig. 43. Rāga Devagāndhāra. Early Rajasthani. c. 1590-1600 A.D. Sri Virajbhushanji Maharaja of Kankroli Collection.



Fig. 45. Rāgini Bhairavi, Early Rajasthani, c. 1590-1600 A.D. Sri Vrajabhushanji Maharaja of Kankroli



Fig. 46. Rāga Megha-Malhār, Same MS. as fig. 45.

॥ १ ॥ राक्षसः तलदीपद्वीपः सुते सुनाथः ॥ इह कमनथः ॥ तदनामदाभनोरथफलं मनवच्छित्त
 ॥ २ ॥ अविनाशः सुगाद्वृत्ता अथवा जसुपरदेस दिक्कतः ॥ राजद्विरदमिलइमं जागा सुगतालाजः
 ॥ ३ ॥ प्रवृत्तः सोलः ॥ अमानदीतरे ॥ इमलनेरिमभा रिफागुणयुति तेर सिदिवसा विरची कथा विचा
 ॥ ४ ॥ पड कवितकथासंबंधः ॥ कामकंदलाका ॥ मनी माधवचरितनिबंधः ॥ ४० ॥ कमललालवाचकक
 ॥ ५ ॥ भिन्न जवाचिजेसनलइ तीया मिलइतव निधिः ॥ ४१ ॥ गाथाभाटीपाचमझम्वजपदीधमाणाल
 ॥ ६ ॥ जसमथः ॥ सुजानः ॥ ४२ ॥ राजलमाल ॥ एहधर कंठरथादिरिजा विरची एथंगारसमासक
 ॥ ७ ॥ ॥ ४३ ॥ ॥ ४४ ॥ ॥ ४५ ॥ ॥ ४६ ॥ ॥ ४७ ॥ ॥ ४८ ॥ ॥ ४९ ॥ ॥ ५० ॥ ॥ ५१ ॥ ॥ ५२ ॥ ॥ ५३ ॥ ॥ ५४ ॥ ॥ ५५ ॥ ॥ ५६ ॥ ॥ ५७ ॥ ॥ ५८ ॥ ॥ ५९ ॥ ॥ ६० ॥ ॥ ६१ ॥ ॥ ६२ ॥ ॥ ६३ ॥ ॥ ६४ ॥ ॥ ६५ ॥ ॥ ६६ ॥ ॥ ६७ ॥ ॥ ६८ ॥ ॥ ६९ ॥ ॥ ७० ॥ ॥ ७१ ॥ ॥ ७२ ॥ ॥ ७३ ॥ ॥ ७४ ॥ ॥ ७५ ॥ ॥ ७६ ॥ ॥ ७७ ॥ ॥ ७८ ॥ ॥ ७९ ॥ ॥ ८० ॥ ॥ ८१ ॥ ॥ ८२ ॥ ॥ ८३ ॥ ॥ ८४ ॥ ॥ ८५ ॥ ॥ ८६ ॥ ॥ ८७ ॥ ॥ ८८ ॥ ॥ ८९ ॥ ॥ ९० ॥ ॥ ९१ ॥ ॥ ९२ ॥ ॥ ९३ ॥ ॥ ९४ ॥ ॥ ९५ ॥ ॥ ९६ ॥ ॥ ९७ ॥ ॥ ९८ ॥ ॥ ९९ ॥ ॥ १०० ॥



Fig. 47. Colophon of the *Mādhavānala Kāmāṇḍalā Chāupāī*. Dated V.S. 1660/A.D. 1603. Museum Für Indische Kunst, Berlin.

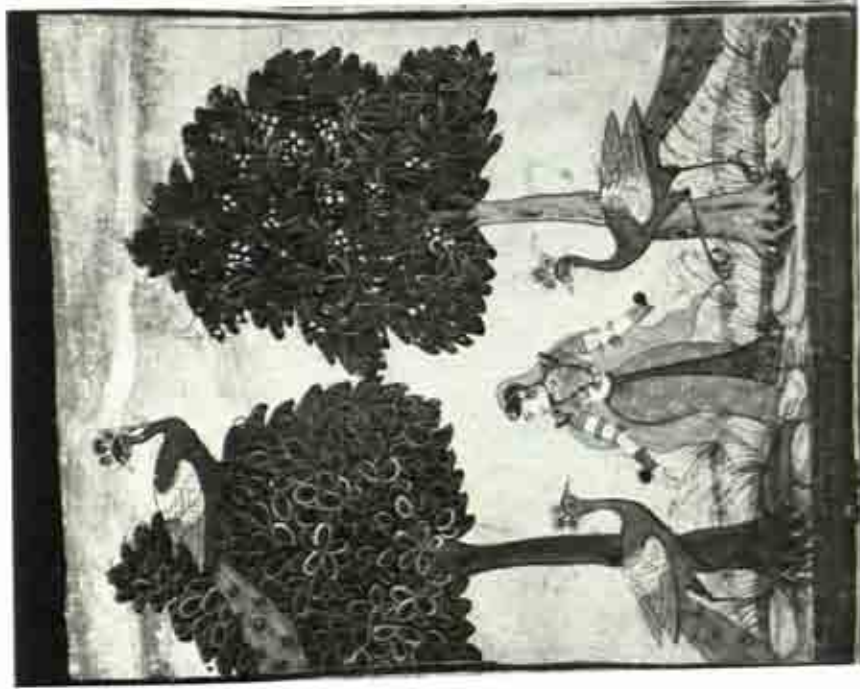


Fig. 48. Rāgini Kakubha. Early Rajasthani. c. 1605 A.D. Formerly in Khajanchi Collection, Bikaner.

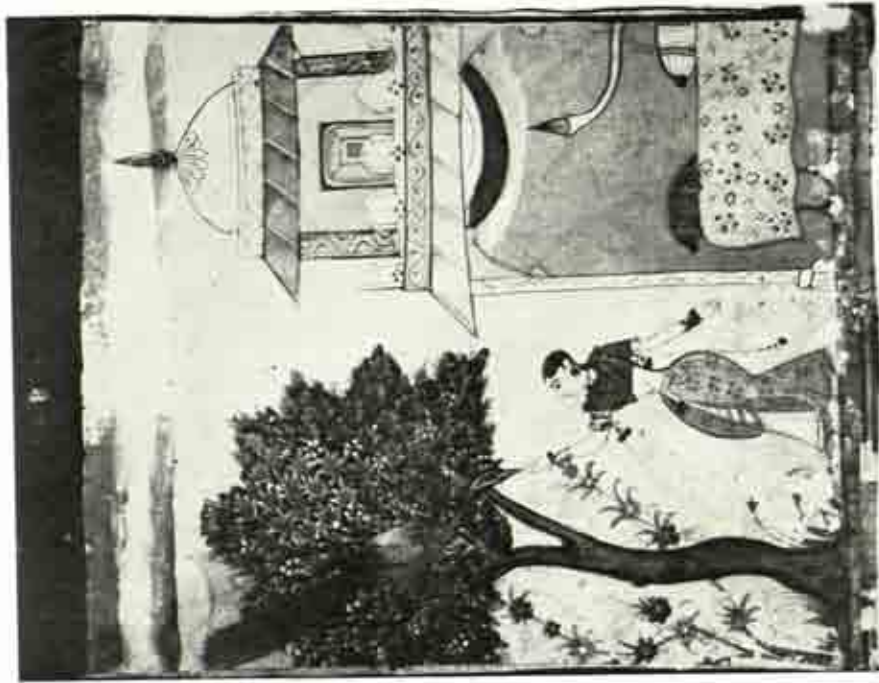


Fig. 49. Rāgini Madhu Mādhavi. Same MS. as fig. 48.



Fig. 50 Dancing Vaishnavi. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. Late 7th or early 8th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 51. Ambikā. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 11th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 52. Gāṅgā. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 10th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 53. Gaṅgā. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 10th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



54. Yamunā. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 10th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 55. Vishnu. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 11th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



Fig. 56. Female figure. Reddish sandstone. Madhya Pradesh. 11th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

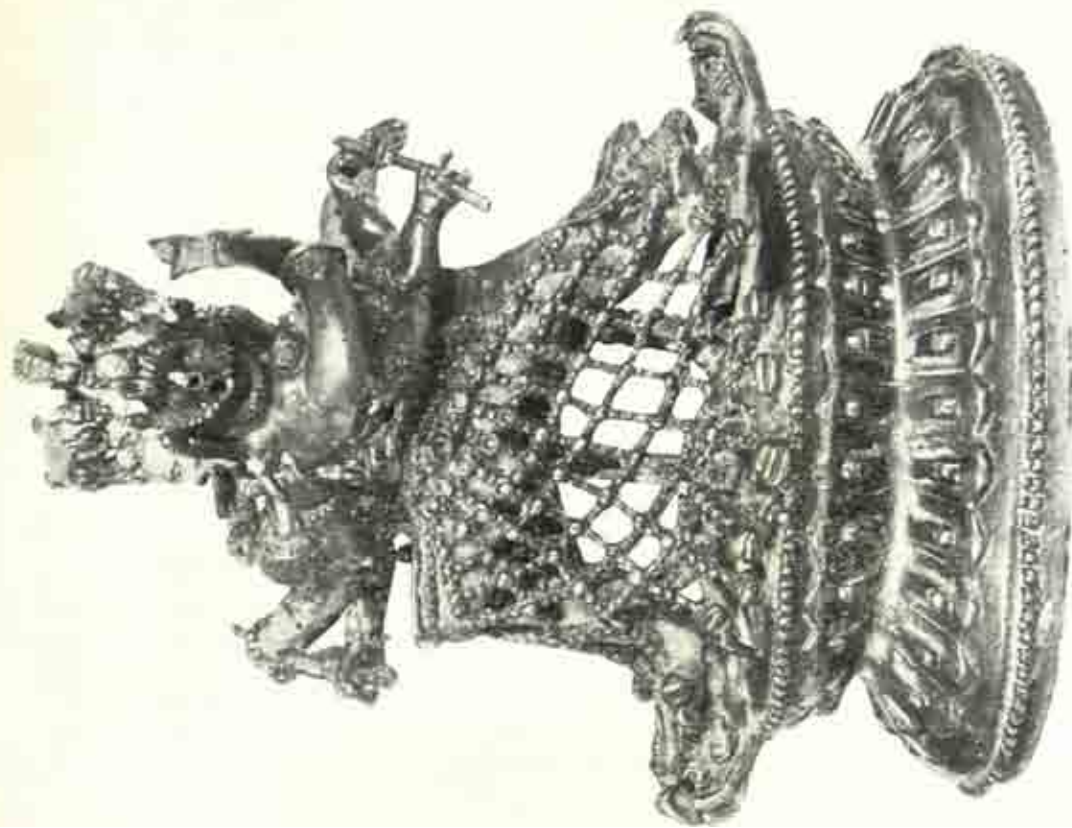


Fig. 57a. 73.3 Hayagriva (rTa mgrin). Tibet, 12th-13th cent. A.D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

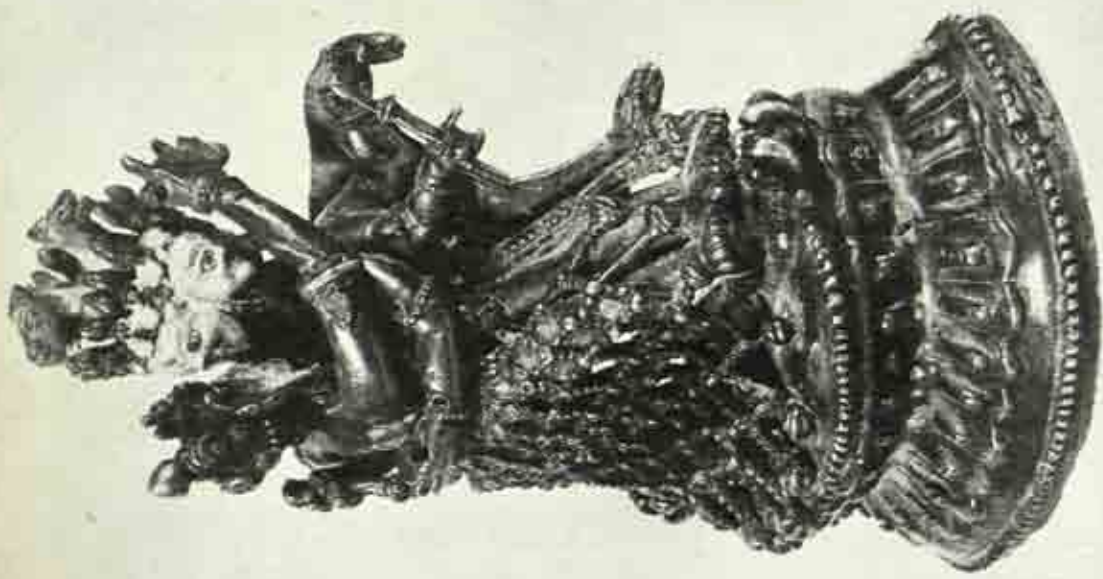


Fig. 57b. Another view of Fig. 57a.

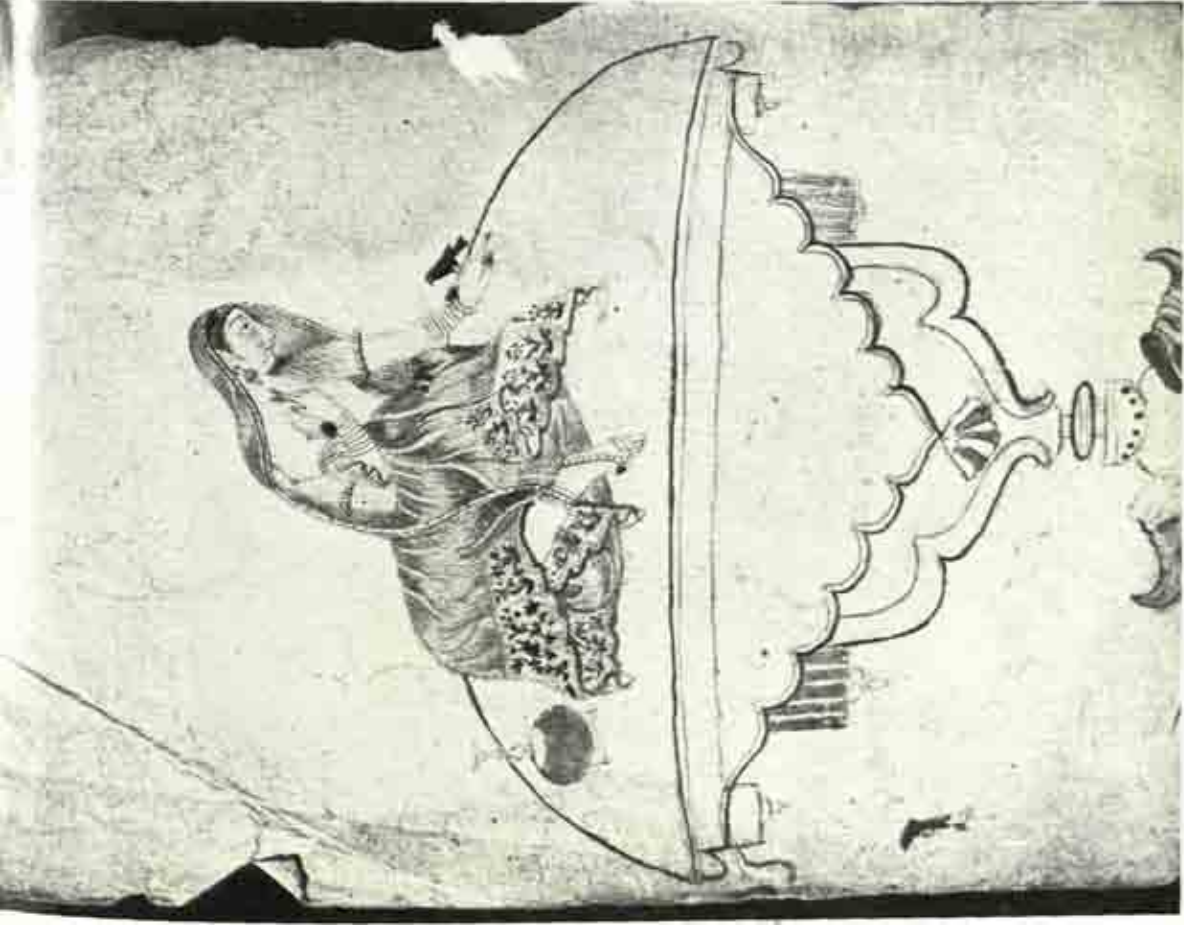


Fig. 58. 73. 12 Lady seated on top of a circular ornamental structure. Pahāri.



Fig. 59. 73. 10. Portrait of Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur.

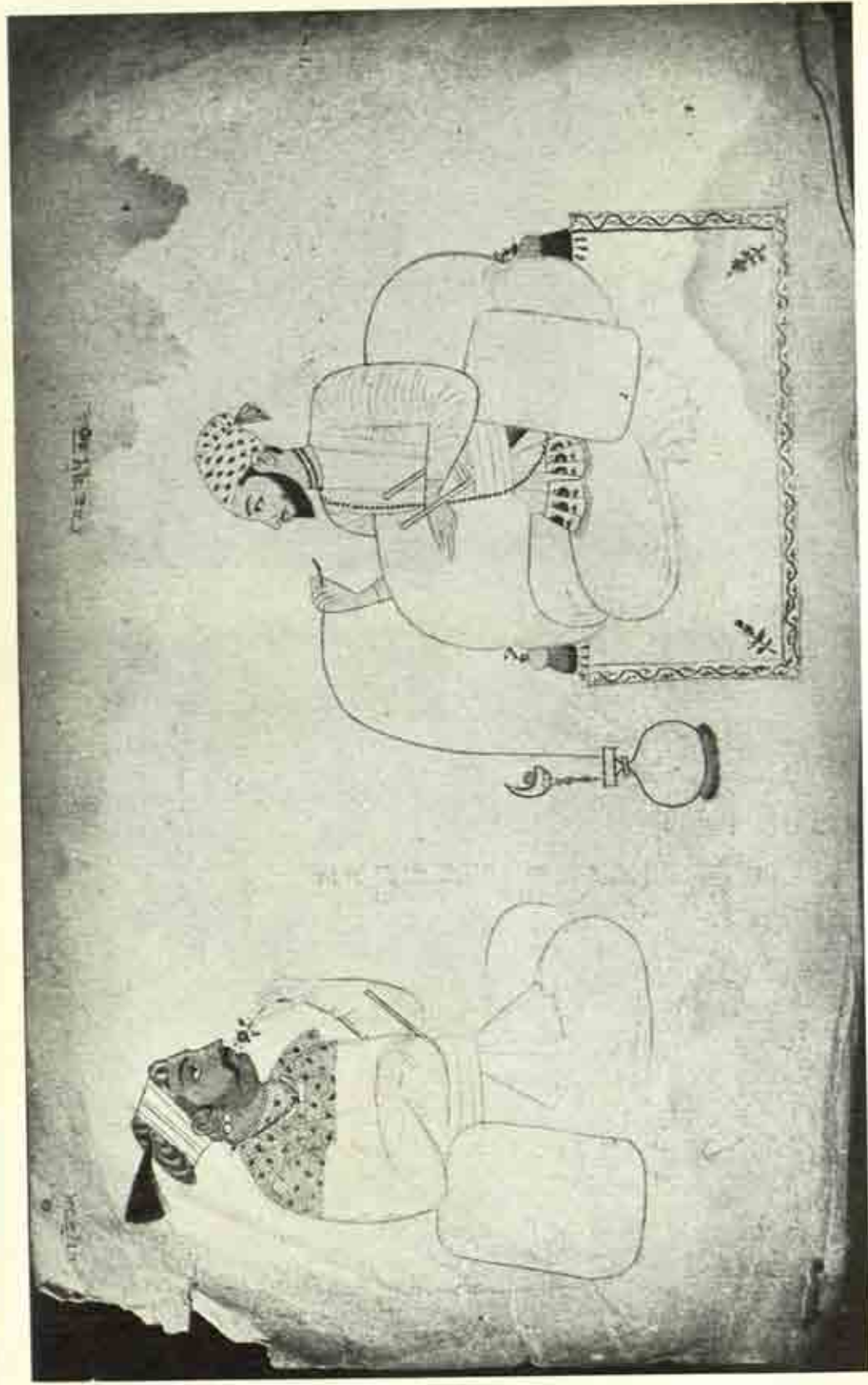
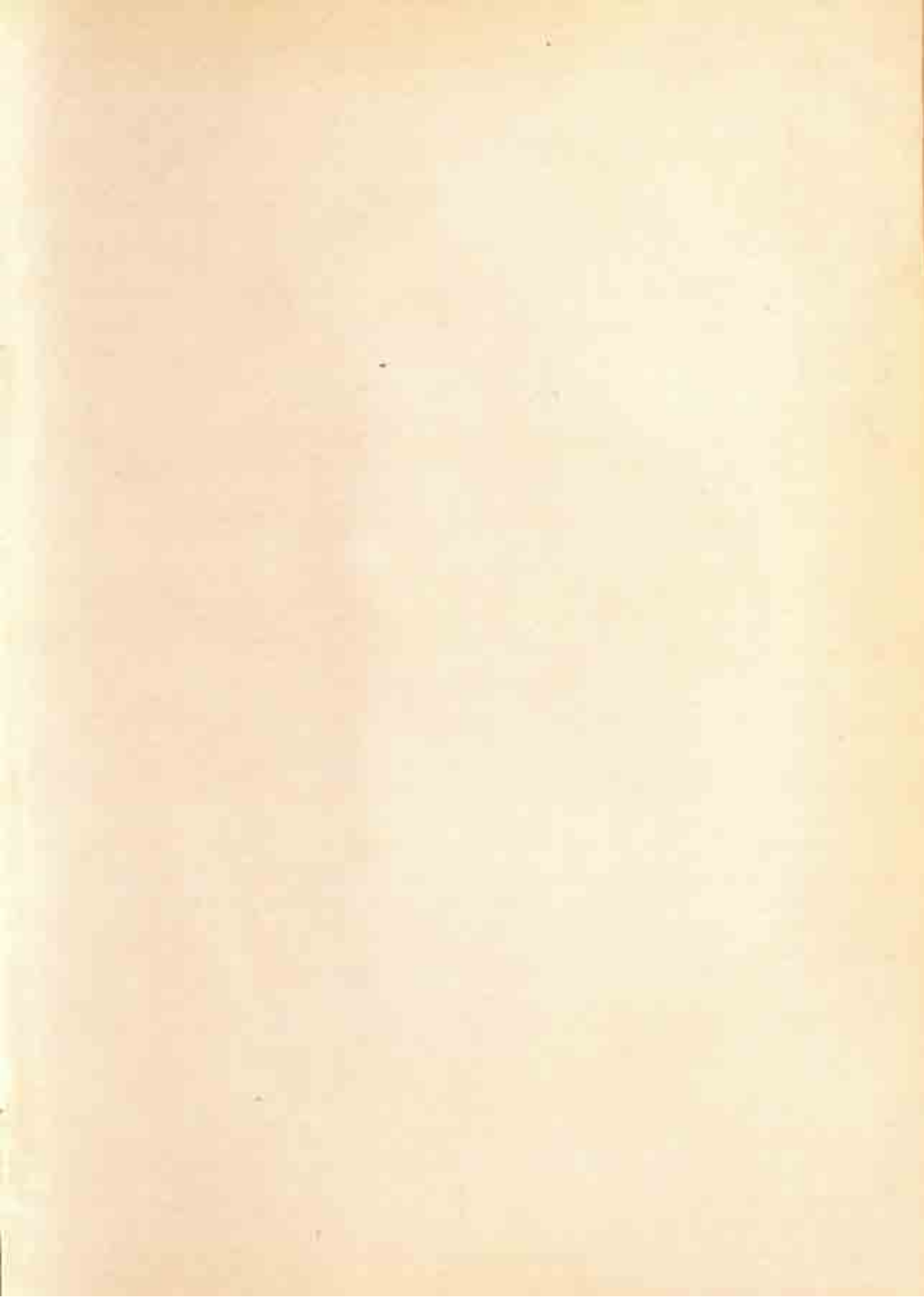
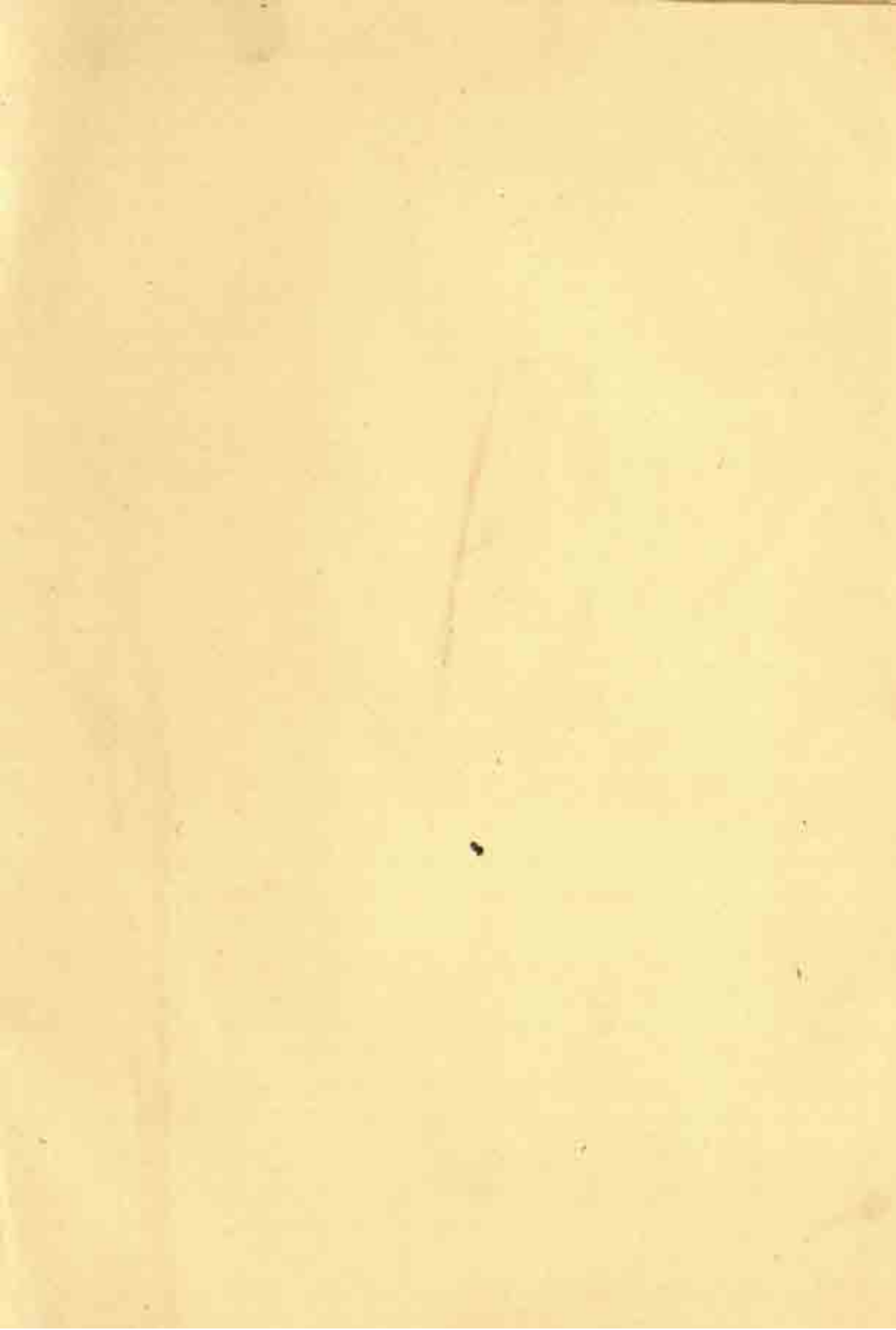


Fig. 60. 73.11 Portrait of Jai Singh of Chamba. The inscription incorrectly states Jai Chand Sukhetar. Pahārī, Basohll idiom. Early 18th cent. A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.









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